

UNANGAM UNIKANGIS:  
ALEUT STORIES OF LEADERSHIP AND KNOWING

by Liza Mack

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APPROVED:

Dr. Ray Barnhardt, Committee Chair

Dr. Courtney Carothers, Committee Co-Chair

Dr. F. Stuart Chapin III, Committee Member

Dr. Jordan Lewis, Committee Member

Dr. Michael Castellini,

*Dean of the Graduate School*

## **Abstract**

The central question of this dissertation is, “What do Aleut people know about the laws that directly affect their access to local resources?” The complex details of hunting and fishing regulations coupled with legislation that dictates access to natural resources will play a key role in Aleut leaders’ ability to understand, disseminate, and protect these rights. Such policies include clauses that regulate who can and cannot participate based on blood quantum, which can be problematic for future generations of Aleut people as they marry and have children with people from outside the region. Further, with the abolishment of aboriginal title to lands and hunting and fishing rights in Alaska, understanding who owns the land and resources and how they are governed is imperative to Aleut people. This dissertation uses participant observation, critical case studies, key informant interviews, and a survey of Aleut leaders in the Eastern Aleutians to illustrate the ways in which Aleut people know and understand their environment and the ways they address natural resource management issues. It further demonstrates the way these issues are being addressed and learned about in two Eastern Aleutian communities. It also highlights the dynamic leadership of Aleut community members in the Eastern Aleutians. Some of the major findings include no reported change in subsistence use for respondents under the age of 50, a decline in the amount of subsistence used by older respondents, Aleut leaders spend years serving their communities in multiple capacities; and generally speaking, younger generations of public servants tend to become involved in community service as well.

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Figure 1. F/V Pacific Maid - Sand Point, Alaska. Photo Credit - David Osterback Sr.

## **Chapter 1 - Introduction**

### **Kasulix - “to find” - Eastern Aleut dialect 1909 - , Atkan dialect 1950 -**

#### **1.1 Introduction to the Research**

When talking about hunters, fishermen, or chiefs in Nuugiim Tunuu, the Atkan dialect of the Unangam Tunuu in the Aleut Language, one would say, *Tukux maax matanakiim idax takux*, or “*The chief knows what he has to do.*” He has to know about the weather and the presence or absence of animal species; he needs to understand the tides, the terrain, and the tools at his disposal. What he needs to know is similar today to what it was in the past, except today he must know more. He needs to understand everything from a traditional perspective but also be aware of, recognize, and navigate the political structures now in place that dictate how our people are allowed to hunt and fish. This knowledge includes, but is not limited to, knowing what the regulations are, what the bag limits are, and what the boundaries are as well as knowing how to get the right permission to even participate in hunting and fishing activities. Knowing is only the beginning of the process and does not touch upon the other roles a chief is required to fill at the same time.

Men and women living in their traditional Aleut villages are still hunters and fishers, along with teachers, lawyers, politicians, businessmen, pilots, health professionals, and government officials, or a mixture of several things. The person who is the maintenance man at the school also often serves on the city council and the Native corporation board, runs a fishing boat, and hunts and gathers for his family. The woman lobbying for funding to keep schools open, flies to and from Washington, D.C., and Juneau, understands the importance of knowing who the senior senator on the appropriations committee is working with on legislation that could impact her community. At the same time, she could be planning a traditional feast to

entertain and feed hundreds of people while writing testimony to give to state and federal resource managers about the ways genetic studies of marine species impact Indigenous community members.

Marine resources are the cornerstone of the Aleut community. Aleut people are hunters and fishermen, gatherers and stewards of the lands and seas occupied. The knowledge of how to navigate and the ability to subsist off the land and sea is still prominent in contemporary Aleut societies, but today that knowledge and ability are coupled with the knowledge and understanding that all decision- making does not happen at home. The Tukun (chiefs) have other roles that are vital to the sustainability of the villages. Along with the vast traditional knowledge that has been passed on for generations, a layer of new knowledge is being learned and applied by 21<sup>st</sup> century Unangan people. And it has to be.

The first time I remember hearing about (the Alaska Department of) “Fish and Game,” I was still very little. My family and I were getting humpies (*qaanayux* / *Oncorhynchus gorbuscha*) at Ram Creek in King Cove to make *yukulax* (dried salmon). All of a sudden, my Ba – Alex Kenezuroff told us to get out of the creek and hide in the grass. He had heard a plane and did not want us to get caught “robbing the creek.” This is one of the first examples that I can remember realizing that we had rules to follow about how we got our fish that would sustain us for the winter. We were not by any means “robbing the creek” but simply getting our fish for winter as we always had done from that creek from time immemorial. Recalling the situation, it makes me aware of how young we are as Native people when we are made aware that the resources, which define the cornerstone of our culture, are managed by outside entities. With these things in mind, I began this research. It was heavily influenced by the politics that are involved with the natural resource management practices in Alaska, as Alaska Native people

we have been and will continue to be impacted by these decisions and this dissertation seeks to understand how people are learning and reshaping the outcomes of these laws.

One prominent recent example of this is the battle our people have had to fight to get permission to construct a road through a wildlife refuge. In my hometown of King Cove, Alaska many things are “weather permitting”; the 4<sup>th</sup> of July Celebration happens on the first nice day in July; basketball games and church services are held “if they make it.” People in King Cove plan for the weather. However, sometimes traveling in and out cannot be planned. Medivacs are one example of this. People in King Cove have stories about being loaded into crab pots and totes to be loaded down onto boats; Coast Guard rescues and long boat rides are common – even into the summer months, when the weather is generally better than the winter months.

The towns of King Cove and Cold Bay are ten miles apart. Cold Bay, Alaska (pop. 70), has one of the longest airstrips in the State of Alaska. During WWII thousands of U.S. soldiers were stationed at Fort Randall. This strategic air base left behind remnants of the military in the form of buildings, roads and the runways.

For the past 20 years, the people of King Cove have been fighting for an access road to the all- weather airport in Cold Bay. However, granting permission for the access road will take an act of Congress because the proposed road will run through a piece a land designated as wilderness in 1980 with the passage of the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA), a land act that followed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), passed in 1971. This land rights issue and issues surrounding fishing in our area are prompted my desire to pursue this research. I began this research with several questions in mind:

1. What do Native Aleut leaders know about the laws that affect fisheries, land ownership, and local access to natural resources in the Eastern Aleutians?
2. How does this knowledge relate to participation in subsistence and political activities to sustain those same rights?
3. What is the correlation between subsistence efforts and policy changes over time?

This dissertation illustrates how land rights and resource issues have and are being played out in the Eastern Aleutians.

## **1.2 Statement/Research Problem**

Several federal and state laws passed in Alaska in the 1970s and 1980s have greatly impacted Alaska Natives, their communities, and their interactions with the environment. This dissertation looks at the ways in which ANCSA, the State of Alaska Limited Entry Act, and ANILCA have affected access to subsistence and fishing livelihoods and traditional ecological knowledge. The dissertation also assesses how knowledgeable Aleut leaders are about these laws and their impacts, including how this knowledge affects participation in subsistence and political activities that sustain those same rights.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was based on the aboriginal land claims of the Indigenous peoples who used the land that came to be Alaska and its resources since time immemorial (Case and Voluck 2002). The passage of ANCSA changed the political landscape of the land into a tool to be used to create economic wealth. ANCSA created a corporation model for conveying and managing the majority of Native lands. The Act distributed the wealth only to shareholders who went through an enrollment process. Only those born before December 18, 1971, were eligible to enroll. Alaska Natives born after that date become shareholders only through gifting or inheritance of shares. The

shareholders are, in reality, the owners of the land and subsurface rights. ANCSA directly impacted and continues to shape the Indigenous identity of the Alaska Native people in that it mandates the definition of “Native” (Garrouette 2003) and limits to some degree participation in Native activities. For example, in order to become a shareholder in the corporations that were created by the law, people have to meet criteria such set forth in the legislation itself, such as the date before which they were born. After the law was passed, some lands became restricted and could not, in some cases, be used by people who were not shareholders. This could mean that if they were not recognized as shareholders for that corporation, those people might not be allowed to berry pick where their grandmother had without the permission of the corporation or without paying a fee in advance of these traditional practices. The monumental act and the corporation structure affecting ownership and decision- making about Native lands are now a reality faced by all generations of Alaska Native people.

Access to resources was further restricted and the political ecology of the natural resource management made more complex with the provisions to ANCSA passed in 1980 in the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act. ANILCA established a rural, rather than Native, preference for subsistence on federal public lands. This act legislates the protection of subsistence ways of life for rural Alaska Natives and non- Natives. The provisions have had localized effects in small towns and villages throughout Alaska. Before, a Native preference existed, and now, the preference is for anyone who lives in a rural community, which means that the preference that Native people had for hunting was changed to include anyone living in a rural community, regardless of their historic presence on the land. Further, Native people who do not live in rural communities, no longer have



preference for subsistence use. As of 2007, more than half of Alaska Natives resided in urban areas, making them ineligible for subsistence harvests on federal public land under ANILCA (Thornton 2007:47). The rights of Alaska Natives to some of their traditional hunting and fishing ways of life are in jeopardy because of the high number of people choosing to reside in urban areas. Loring and Gerlach (2008) observe that “rural communities are undergoing dramatic social and economic restructuring . . . as many residents move out of the ‘bush’ and into Alaska’s urban centers for jobs, cheaper food and fuel, and sometimes healthcare” (467). This dissertation examines whether restrictions to hunting and fishing areas coupled with rural outmigration is contributing to a loss of traditional ecological knowledge for the younger Aleuts residing in the Eastern Aleutians.

The next generations of Alaska Natives are increasingly being raised in urban communities, limiting, if not removing, them from having firsthand knowledge of their ancestral lands and, in some cases, from the conversations and decision-making about the future of resource and land management. From my own experience, I know that being farther away from home, you do not always know what is happening. This distance coupled with barriers such as minimum requirements to participate based on “blood quantum” could be devastating for the future participation of Alaska Native people in some policy realms. Outmigration and also the influx of new people coming into villages brings the dilution of the “blood quantum” required for Native people to continue to be acknowledged in both tribes and corporations (Garrouette 2003), thus limiting their say further in what happens to the land and the laws by which they are governed. The political challenges include environmental conflicts, especially with the regulation of hunting and fishing practices and the development decisions that will be made in the coming years. The current and future

generations of children may not know the history and legacy of ANCSA or ANILCA, or even subsistence for that matter, since they are not harvesting from the land to the degree that people who still live in rural Alaska are. Further, as we will see, these topics are not always taught in schools. The impacts that legislation has on the traditional ways of life and the knowledge held in that place seem to fade over time. Some research suggests that even the younger generations residing in rural areas are less active in subsistence than older generations living there (e.g., Moerlein & Carothers, 2012). Previous generations have fought difficult legal battles to protect the social, cultural, and economic basis of rural communities and, without knowledge of these matters, younger generations and rural Alaska villages may be vulnerable to even more outmigration, further restrictions to resources, and threats to hunting and fishing livelihoods.

Similar to ANCSA and ANILCA, the passage of the Limited Entry Act had significant impacts on the Aleut people, especially those in King Cove and Sand Point. In 1973, the State of Alaska passed the Limited Entry Act in response to the large numbers of nonresident fishermen in the fisheries and the threat to the resource. The act was established to protect state fisheries by regulating the entry of participants and vessels allowed to fish, stating that after January 1, 1974, a person could not commercially fish without a valid entry permit. In order to obtain a permit, each fisherman had to meet a set of criteria put forth by the State of Alaska. People who were able to prove that they had fished in the qualifying years of 1969- 1972 received permits for the corresponding gear type or types (Langdon, 1980). The Limited Entry regulations affected the entire fleet by limiting the number of persons allowed to fish based on their fishing history. Similar to ANCSA, this regulatory shift produced by the Limited Entry Act also created impacts within the communities. The

generation of fishermen in the 1970s were given permits at no cost. Subsequent generations had to purchase these permits for fisheries such as the Area M seine fishery to be integrated into the economies of King Cove and Sand Point. Depending on when the permits were purchased, it was done so at great cost. Limited Entry was the first to eliminate the opportunity for any Aleut fisherman to get involved at the captain level without a family member who was already at this recognized status.

With these regulations and results in mind, this research provides an in- depth look at what people who currently reside in rural communities and participate on either tribal councils or corporation boards understand and know about fishing, hunting, and land access rights; the research assesses both their formal knowledge of the legal history and contemporary practices, as well as their personal knowledge, about how this history unfolded in their local communities and region, and how current practice in the communities is shaped by these laws and this understanding. The research uses multiple methods including interviews, surveys and critical case studies to illustrate the complexities of navigating these systems that are in place on the ground. As stated, legislation passed decades ago has had direct impacts on the way that Alaska Natives are allowed to live and move about the landscape. Specifically, laws affect the ways in which they are allowed to participate in their cultural activities that are tied to the land and, in turn, potentially affecting their cultural identity. This research gathered a baseline understanding of how these laws are interpreted and understood at the local level. This understanding is imperative to future generations of Aleut people. The basis of the Aleut culture is tied to the land and the sea, therefore this understanding of permissions on how they can use it will have lasting impacts on future generations.

Scholars recognize that these natural resource laws have had impacts on Indigenous groups in Alaska (e.g., Lowe & Carothers, 2008; Reedy- Maschner, 2010). One of many examples includes Reedy- Maschner's (2010:156) discussion about the differences in people who received limited entry salmon permits and those who did not. The men who received the permits had more advantages than those who did not. The Eastern Aleutians present an opportunity to learn more about what this type of privilege means for Indigenous people today and in the future. The assumption, albeit erroneous, is that things are the way they are because that is the way they have always been. McCay (1998) illustrated exactly the opposite, and this notion will be discussed in section 2.3 – Fisheries in the Aleutians. It is imperative that future generations understand and differentiate how the land and the resources are governed to ensure continued access. This dissertation illustrates the existence of a relationship between formal knowledge about access to the land and the resources and interactions with that land. It further demonstrates that governance has direct effects on traditional ecological knowledge and that restrictions to the resources directly affect the Indigenous identity of the Aleut people.

### **1.3 Introduction and Experience of Researcher**

First and foremost, I am an Aleut, born and raised in King Cove, Alaska. I am the oldest of the 27 grandchildren of Alex and Maggie Kenezuroff on the side of my late mother, Lydia Mack. I am one of the many grandchildren of Paul and Fannie Mack of King Cove on the side of my father, Barney Mack. I am active in the preservation of our Unangan Culture. Each summer I help store fish with my family by smoking, jarring, salting, canning, and freezing salmon. I spend time collecting various berries and local seasonal plants for the winter months. I have participated in and assisted with the creation and implementation of culture camps, where

people can learn about and take part in cultural activities such as language and dance, activities that were on the verge of being lost. All of this, combined with my Western education, has made me who I am today and provides the foundation that has informed my research. Going through two university anthropology programs with the research being rooted in my home region and then building on those degrees with doctoral- level courses, have helped me to formulate questions and research goals useful to our people. I have had the pleasure of working in communities I am familiar with, and have established trust and rapport with community members (Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) Principle), enabling me to bring an Indigenous/Unangax perspective to my research. As a member of the region, I have the ability to understand many of the nuances that other researchers are not aware of and ensure that the communities and participants are engaged and represented in a culturally responsive and appropriate manner.

I left King Cove to attend a public boarding school in Sitka, Alaska, in tenth grade. I attended Mt. Edgecumbe High School and spent one semester at the Santa Fe Indian School, in Santa Fe, New Mexico. I acquired my associate of arts degree in 1998 from the University of Alaska Southeast. Between 1998 and 2004, I had a chance to live and work in King Cove. I returned to school in 2004 to obtain my bachelor's and master's degrees in anthropology from Idaho State University. For my master's thesis, I analyzed testimony of the State of Alaska Board of Fisheries to explore how people felt about the board process (Mack 2009). Based on qualitative interviews, I addressed the question of whether or not people who testified at the Board of Fish felt their testimonies contributed to the regulations that were passed. In general, the results from my Masters thesis suggested that people felt as though decisions were made for political reasons versus based on their testimony. Over the years, I have had the opportunity to

participate on research projects in the Aleut region, including a study of mitochondrial DNA and the migration of the Aleut people with Kansas University and the Sanak Biocomplexity Project with Idaho State University. I conducted interviews with elders for the Belkofski Oral History Project and the King Cove 100- Year Celebration and assisted with subsistence surveys with Idaho State University in 2005. All of these experiences have been eye- opening for me, leading me to investigate other policy issues present within our state, regions, and communities.

In 2012, I was honored as the Aleut Corporation Student of the Year and not long after that was asked to join the Sustainable Development Working Group of the Arctic Council as a Social Economic and Cultural Expert by the Aleut International Association. In July 2017, I was appointed the Interim Executive Director of Aleut International Association, one of the six Permanent Participants of the Arctic Council. I was promoted to Executive Director in July 2018. I serve on the Unangam Tunuu Revitalization Advisory Committee and am active in language and cultural preservation efforts. I am also currently serving my second term as a Board of Director for the King Cove Corporation. I am skilled in interviewing techniques, and I have a great rapport with the communities in the Aleut region. The intimate knowledge of the community histories, the families, the people, and the culture in the Aleutians contributed to the success of this research.

My intent in this project was to work for the Indigenous people of the Eastern Aleutians. I wanted to do research that is meaningful to the community and to the future generations of Aleut people. In 2013, I had the opportunity to attend several presentations by Smith at the Alaska Native Studies Conference at the University of Alaska Anchorage. One quote stuck with me. He said, “Having credentials gives us the opportunity to be good

leaders.” That statement is why I wanted to not only to continue my studies but also to include and consider my community and culture in every step of the journey.

#### **1.4 Research Methods**

Multiple methods were used over the course of this project. Participant observation was used throughout, both in my field work and also played a role as I developed my own leadership skills and continued to be involved with policy work for my community and organizations that represent Aleut people at multiple levels of governance. I used critical case studies to showcase exemplary cases of leadership in Aleut communities. These case studies were products of working directly with people from the Eastern Aleutians to identify the people showcased but also with them directly, co- producing the oral histories that are used for the critical case studies. Simultaneous to this, I conducted a snowball sample to help find key informants to interview to create a survey instrument. These key informant interviews included a set of semi- directed questions. The answers from these interviews were used to determine questions that were included in the survey. This instrument (see Appendix C) was in turn used to survey the population – which was predetermined to be the sitting Tribal Council and Boards of Directors as of the Summer 2016 – which was the summer I conducted my fieldwork.

Throughout the process, I worked with a community review committee who read drafts of this work and also helped to guide the process of developing the survey instrument. Chapter 3 discusses both the methods and the data analysis more in depth.

### **1.5 Potential Benefits and Contributions to Literature**

The study has produced quantitative data as well as qualitative data that illustrate the relationships between legislation, access to natural resources and traditional ecological knowledge. The main goal was to gain a holistic understanding of how Aleut leaders know about the laws that govern us, as well as pinpoint the information that needs to be re-presented to new generations of Alaska Native people. Linda Smith (1999) discussed a number of problems with research, specifically the way in which Indigenous peoples have been taken advantage of over time by outside researchers. As a researcher and part of the community, I wanted to make sure that this study was relevant, respectful and legitimate for the people involved. In order to do this, I worked closely with advisors and project participants throughout all stages of my research and writing. I created a study grounded in the Native Alaskan cultures of our past while still being conscious of the ways in which we have absorbed the societal values of the westernized world. The bureaucratic systems that govern us need to be understood as much as the tides and the migratory patterns of the birds and animals that share our landscape.

### **1.6 Research Significance**

This research aimed to address the knowledge people have about specific laws that have shaped our abilities to practice our ways of life and the impacts these laws have had on our people and communities. I wanted testimony from people who are not old enough, or were not qualified, for limited entry permits concerning their knowledge about the commercial fisheries system and how this system will affect their livelihoods and their families in the future. Each piece of legislation that has been passed has repercussions felt throughout the system.



Understanding how these repercussions are being experienced and institutionalized within the community is imperative to creating resiliency in the Eastern Aleutians.

Besides contributing our Aleut leaders' stories and knowledge on these topics, the research also contributes to the field of political ecology, specifically the ways that global and national values and legislation affects local communities. Access to natural resources in the Eastern Aleutians is imperative to everyday life. The Aleut people who live in the area have survived there for generations, maintaining a balance within the landscape. The fact that the Aleut people have survived in a harsh environment for thousands of years is problematic to the commonly romanticized view of nature that is often critiqued in political ecology. Robbins (2004) described how perceptions of what is "natural" are defined by those people in positions of power. He illustrated the common idea of what is assumed to be natural is a human construct that removes people from the landscape and assumes an almost Eden-like view of the world. These ideas are presented in many forms; National Parks are one of the most prominent examples that many recognize as success stories as an act of preservation of the natural humanless landscape, where often Indigenous people have been removed (often equipped with road access and humanly managed wildlife, of course). This was demonstrated in the example above, how a people who have lived in an area since time immemorial have to petition a governmental body for access to their traditional lands to build a road in "wilderness" to improve their safety.

## **1.7 Dissertation Overview**

This dissertation consists of six chapters. This first chapter provided a brief introduction to the topic, the researcher, the approach and the significance of this paper. This research is a direct product of the upbringing, education, culture and career of a female Indigenous scholar.

Chapter 2 explores the levels of governance that determine and dictate the ways in which Aleut society functions, which, more specifically, refers to the political ecology, or the idea that policy actually regulates the environment and defines what can happen in that area. In the Aleut region, the passage of regulations in hunting and fishing activities like those enacted with the ANCSA, ANILCA, and those hunting and fishing regulations that are visited and adjusted on a three- year cycle are important to the Aleut culture.

Chapter 3 covers the study methodology and the research plan in greater detail. It describes the theoretical framework, the research plan, and the research site. The sample population is defined, as are the procedures used for data collection, storage, and management. This chapter also discusses the analysis of the data.

Chapter 4 is the first of two parts of the research results. This chapter presents and discusses the information that was gathered from interviews and critical case studies. Early in the research process, it became evident (not surprisingly) that there are individuals within our communities who exemplify leadership qualities. This chapter introduces two of them in oral histories and also uses excerpts from a documentary that I worked on for over a decade to highlight the ties to the land and the subsistence practices of people in the Eastern Aleutians

Chapter 5 presents survey results. It highlights the findings that illustrate the vast amount of dedication that board and tribal members have. The multifaceted society in the Eastern Aleutians has a limited number of people to fulfill the obligations necessary to be present at multiple advocacy, familial and subsistence activities to name a few. This chapter looks into the demographic information, self- reported subsistence use, and where people learn about the legislation that are important to community survival.

Chapter 6 provides concluding thoughts about the research, reflections and a discussion about potential future research. This chapter discusses the contributions this research makes to the field of Indigenous Studies and importance of the emic voice in research.

## **Chapter 2 - Relevant Literature**

### **Iqyaa Kayugix “His baidarka is strong”**

Morzhovoi Man, Chugul Chief

This research set out to determine what Aleut leaders know about the laws that affect Native people's fisheries, land ownership, and local access to natural resources in the Eastern Aleutians. Further, its goal was to consider how this knowledge affects participation in subsistence and political activities that sustain those same rights. I also questioned to what extent, if any, traditional hunting and fishing practices are being affected. Legislation passed in the 1970s has significance at multiple levels, including within the communities, throughout the state, and throughout the nation. Assessing how and what Native leaders know about these monumental legislative acts and how the legislation is being learned about and operationalized within the communities is imperative to understanding both the relationships Aleuts have with their local environments as well as with the federal and state governments that regulate the Aleuts' ability to participate in traditional and current practices. This literature review discusses the key aspects of this work, including the political ecology of resources in Alaska and Alaska Native resources, Indigenous identity, Indigenous knowledge, and education, including traditional ecological knowledge (TEK).

#### **2.1 Political Ecology - Alaska Natives and Natural Resource Issues in Rural Alaska**

At the time of contact when Russians and others began arriving in what would become Alaska, approximately 17,000 Aleut people were living there (Laughlin 1980). The Aleuts were one of many Indigenous people in Alaska. Based on broad cultural and linguistic similarities, anthropologists generally split Indigenous peoples into six major groups: Unangan/Aleut, Sugpiaq/Alutiiq, Yupiit, Iñupiat, Athabascans, and Tlingit and

Haida (Langdon 2002). Over the course of more than 10,000 years, all of these groups established cultures and languages and also established boundaries with each other. The boundaries were sometimes based on resources and often watched closely, as in the case of the Unangan people, who were also known to war with the Sugpiaq peoples of the Kodiak Archipelago, Alaska Peninsula, and Prince William Sound (Langdon 2002:23). Prior to the arrival of the Russians, missionaries, and Americans, the Native people of Alaska were active in establishing boundaries and sustaining their livelihoods for thousands of years. They were an integral part of their ecosystems, depending on what they provided and in turn the ecosystems were influenced by their human presence, forming what Chapin et al. (2009) called a social- ecological system. In this system humans depend on the resources provided by the ecosystem and the dynamics of it, in turn, are influenced by human activities (Berkes et al. 2003, Chapin et al. 2009, Turner et al. 2003) much like the interactions Native people have had with their surroundings for generations. This research seeks to understand the social dimensions of the recent management systems and their implications at the local level. Another way to look at these established boundaries, limitations, and livelihoods is to consider them from the political- ecological point of view.

Watts (2000) defined political ecology as seeking “to understand the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of what one might call forms of access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods” (257). Access to natural resources in the Eastern Aleutians is imperative to everyday life. The Aleut people who live there have survived there for generations, maintaining a balance within the landscape. Using political ecology as a framework to interrogate changes in social- ecological systems, this research highlights the ways in which

power has played a role in the activities practiced by Alaska's Native people and where and how activities take place. Political ecology stresses that ecological systems have political dimensions and that ideas about the systems are produced through political and economic processes (Robbins 2004:12). Several cases in Alaska can be traced back to essentially removing Native peoples from their lands or greatly limiting their access to lands and resources. One example is the Russian decimation of the population of the Aleut people to less than 20% of its original number prior to the purchase of Alaska by the United States (Langdon 2002:26). Another more recent example is the introduction of mandated Western schooling and the forcing of nomadic peoples to settle in one place. Kawagley (1999) discusses how the passing of The Compulsory School Attendance Law ended Native peoples' practice of moving with migrating animals and seasons because it required families to enroll their children in schools and remain in that place (in Barnhardt and Kawagley 2010:81). I had the pleasure of taking a course with the late Oscar Kawagley, who described having to move into Bethel after living with his grandparents on the land. His story was not unique, in that for people of his generation, and those in the early 1900s people were being forced to settle in one place as opposed to being nomadic and living based on the migration patterns of the animals who sustained them. Sluyter (1999) noted that this was part of the colonial process, and removing Indigenous peoples from the landscape made controlling the land easier (12). In presentations about this removal, the portion of the story prior to colonization is often left out (Robbins 2004).

## **2.2 The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, Tribes and The Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act**

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was signed into law on December 18, 1971. This law settled the aboriginal land claims of the Alaska Natives. The Natives of

Alaska were granted 44 million acres of land and a monetary payment of \$962.5 million for the lands lost (Arnold 1978). ANSCA has generally been interpreted by the courts as extinguishing aboriginal land title and Indian Country in the state and the sovereignty over land inherent in that status. In more recent years, tribes in Alaska have been recognized to have jurisdiction through laws such as the Indian Child Welfare Act. Strommer, Osborne and Jacobsen (2015) noted that in *John v Baker* “Alaska Native villages have the inherent sovereign power to adjudicate child custody disputes between tribal members, even in the absence of Indian Country” (513) Aboriginal hunting and fishing rights have also been generally interpreted to be extinguished by this ANCSA (with the exception of subsistence rights, which were later declared as rights shared with all rural Alaska residents as defined in the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980), though still recognized and protected by the State of Alaska and the Secretary of the Interior (Case and Voluck 2002:284- 285). As the administrations change in Alaska, the stance on this issue has also changed. In 2017, then Governor Bill Walker asked the Alaska Attorney General for guidance on tribal sovereignty, highlighting key court cases, Attorney General Jahna Lindemuth issued the opinion that “There are 229 Alaska Tribes and they are separate sovereigns with inherent sovereignty and subject matter jurisdiction over certain matters.” The Anchorage Daily News reported in December 2017, that Walker was the third Governor of Alaska to recognize tribes in Alaska, where others fought tribal authority (Demer 2017).

The payment of approximately \$3 per acre of land was not distributed to the Native people of Alaska individually; instead, the act created regional and village corporations that would control the money and, more importantly, would also take title of the land. With the support of organizations like the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and the Alaska Federation

of Natives (AFN) 13 regional and 220 village corporations were established to control settlement lands and money (Arnold 1978). These profit- making corporations would hold title to both surface and subsurface land (Thornton 2007:43- 44). In order to receive the monies given in exchange for the land, Native people had to incorporate into regional and village corporations. The act outlined the regional corporations based on similarities in heritage and the sharing of common interests and also suggested the corporations follow the already established Native associations: Arctic Slope Regional Association, Bering Straits Association, Northwest Alaska Native Association, Association of Village Council Presidents, Tanana Chiefs Conference, Cook Inlet Association, Bristol Bay Native Association, Aleut League (later changed to Aleutian Pribilof Island Association), Chugach Native Association, Tlingit- Haida Central Council, Kodiak Area Native Association, and Copper River Association (ANCSA, 1971).

Native people born on or before December 18, 1971, who were at least one- fourth or more Alaska Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut, or a combination, were eligible to receive 100 shares in both a regional and a village corporation. Ultimately the Secretary of the Interior was able to decide who was or was not eligible for enrollment<sup>1</sup>. The regional and village corporations people enrolled in was based on where they resided, where they had previously resided, or where they had been born (Arnold 1978:146). Anyone born after the specified date was not included in the act and, therefore, did not become an official shareholder or landowner under ANCSA. On the other hand, all Alaska Natives, regardless of their date of birth, may still be enrolled in tribes in Alaska, if they meet the criteria, creating multiple roles for the Native Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts.

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<sup>1</sup> Pub. Law 92-203. Sec. 3 (b) “Native” means a citizen of the United States who is a person of ¼ degree or more



Alaska has 229 federally recognized tribes (Bureau of Indian Affairs 2019). The tribes have sovereign power and negotiate rights with the federal government. These rights recognized by the federal government include the rights to:

Adopt and operate under a form of government of the Indians' choosing, to define conditions of tribal membership, to regulate domestic relations of members, to prescribe rules of inheritance, to levy taxes, to regulate property within the jurisdiction of the tribe, to control the conduct of members by municipal legislation and to administer justice. (Cohen 1982 in Case and Voluck 2002:321)

In 1958, however, the P.L. 83- 280 was applied to Alaska giving the state jurisdiction over some civil and criminal activities pertaining to Native Americans and their lands. The federal government does recognize traditional Native governments for purposes of federal Native programs and services (Case and Voluck 2002:321). The tribes receive monies from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to provide services to the tribal members who, like shareholders, must be descendants of tribal members and also have a blood quantum that is outlined within their bylaws. Figure 1 gives a better idea of the structure of the corporations and the tribes in my region of study.

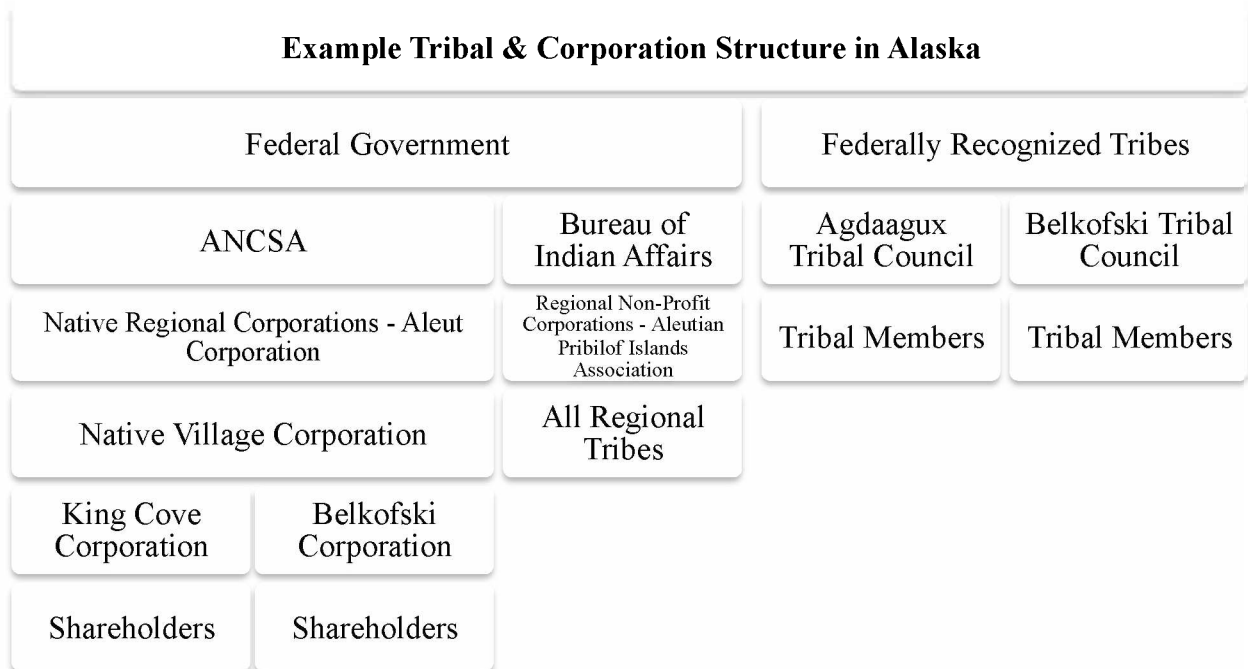


Figure 2: Structure of Tribes and Corporations in King Cove, Alaska

At the local level, tribal governments enroll their members based on the bylaws set by the tribal councils. According to Case and Voluck (2002), bylaws were requested by the BIA but not required. However, BIA was reluctant to deal with communities not formally organized under these types of documents. Case and Voluck (2002) stated that bylaws were historically patterned after the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) constitutions. The 1934 IRA allowed Native Americans who were residing on the same reservation to organize for their common welfare. The 1934 IRA was amended and permitted in Alaska in 1936, allowing Alaska Natives to organize based on a common bond of occupation, or association of residence (Case and Voluck 2002:322). Generally speaking, within these IRA or tribal governments, descendants of a tribal member who can prove their family once resided in that village are eligible to be enrolled. The tribal council is the formal institution that creates guidelines to distribute the

Bureau of Indian Affairs<sup>2</sup> programs to tribal members. The tribes and the regional nonprofit organizations who represent them distribute the programs that are promised to the Native tribes through agreements made in the United States Constitution, treaties, court decisions and federal statutes<sup>3</sup>. In the Aleut region, the BIA and the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association, which is the umbrella organization for the Aleut region and the tribes, assist in the well- being of the communities and the tribal members.

The Aleut Corporation and all the other ANCSA corporations, as for- profit corporations, have fiduciary responsibility to the shareholders. Each of the village and regional corporations received portions of the monetary settlement based on population. ANCSA gave people a participatory role in the corporations and gave the corporations a fiduciary responsibility to those enrolled shareholders. This fiduciary responsibility sometimes becomes challenging because it changed the resources that were once held in common into a resource that is meant to make profit. Further, with shareholders who live in different locations and sometimes different states there are different needs and not always consensus about how the natural resources owned by the corporations should be used.

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<sup>2</sup> The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) aims to “enhance the quality of life, to promote economic opportunity, and to carry out the responsibility to protect and improve the trust assets of American Indians, Indian tribes and Alaska Natives.” The Office of Indian Services operates the BIA's general assistance, disaster relief, Indian child welfare, tribal government, Indian Self-Determination, and reservation roads programs. The Office of Justice Services directly operates or funds law enforcement, tribal courts, and detention facilities on Federal Indian lands. The Office of Trust Services works with tribes and individual American Indians and Alaska Natives in the management of their trust lands, assets, and resources. The BIA administers the monies it takes to run these programs by allocating it to the umbrella organizations, in the Aleut Region, that is the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (APIA). APIA is made up of 13 regional tribes, located throughout the Aleut Region.

<<http://www.bia.gov/WhoWeAre/index.htm>> Accessed 12/12/10

<sup>3</sup><<http://www.bia.gov/WhatWeDo/index.htm>> Accessed 12/12/10

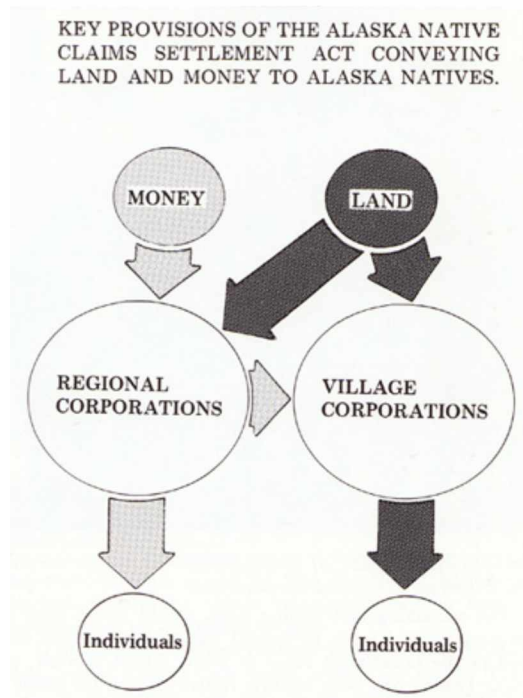


Figure 3: ANCSA Provisions. Arnold 1978.

ANCSA outlined the process for creating the corporations and the roles of the shareholders. The law stated that the organizations had two years to produce articles of incorporation and bylaws to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. As the illustration above shows, regional corporations received monies that they would then distribute to village corporations when the village had an approved set of bylaws and articles of incorporation. These articles of incorporation and bylaws outlined the roles of the shareholders further than the initial act. Typically, the bylaws include the right to vote for its members to decide who will serve on the board of directors. The bylaws also tend to give shareholders the right to receive dividends when a profit is made (Aleut Corporation 2013).

Another provision of ANCSA was that regional and village corporations would hold title to the land. The village corporations received surface rights to lands in and around their villages as well as the option to select lands based on historical uses, such as subsistence hunting and

gathering. The amount of land given to each village and regional corporation was based on the population in the village and the region. Regional corporations were also given the subsurface rights to all of the village corporation lands located within their region. This is particularly important because it took the landholdings from sovereign governments (the tribes) and made them privately owned, thus creating an elite user group and allowing the corporations and their shareholders to make decisions about the land and its resources without having to consult with the tribal council and the members. Future generations were left vulnerable to current decisions being made about the land.

The money- making obligation of the corporation is very different from the tribes and the non- profit organizations. Tribes manage tribal sovereignty and social programs through the Bureau of Indian Affairs compacts and contracts, focusing on the well- being of the communities and the tribal members. Alternatively, ANCSA made the Native Alaskan people obligated to make a profit using the monetary settlement along with their land base, a paradigm shift in the ways of thinking of the Native people. In some places like Tununak, a Yup'ik village on Nelson Island, residents were upset about the decision and believed they had been cheated and that ANCSA placed their lands at risk (Berger 1985:6). Berger (1985) illustrated many of the concerns and mixed feelings that the Alaska Native people had about ANCSA. The cultural values of living off the land were thrust into a business model based on Western views of success, diminishing the importance and significance of the complex societies built around the natural resources that Native Alaskans had thrived on for millennia. Berger stated that corporations were created in reversal of the usual process and that ANCSA “required Natives to organize corporations, provided them with capital and then urged them to find or create economic opportunities,” with the corporations being the vehicle and the land being the capital

needed for economic development. To complicate the matter, shareholders were not investors; they were people bound together by land, culture, and kinship ties (Berger 1985:28). By requiring the economic opportunity, it changed the ways that Native people interacted with the landscape, they were now being encouraged to use their land for monetary purposes not the cultural and subsistence activities that they had prior to passing of ANCSA. The changes in the approaches to resource management and influences on the value system have been felt on every level of the Native communities. The challenge is that, over time, the value systems that define what wealth is may change. Boraas and Knott (2013) noted wealth in communities along the Nushagak and Kvichak Rivers is defined today, much as it may have been before ANCSA. The people in their study defined wealth as “people with food in the freezer, a large extended family and the ability to live a subsistence lifestyle” (88). With this in mind, restricting access to resources that can be taken from the land and water, has a direct effect on what can be utilized in Native communities for food or even for capital. Further, these regulations and restrictions could potentially change the landscape and the threshold of the social- ecological system by managing for one species or interest group over another.

Chapin et al. (2009:80) pointed out that property rights are a set of rules that govern access to and use of the resources and thus reflected power relations that affected social- ecological dynamics and resource sustainability. That point is important in considering ANCSA, and the legislation that followed it, because it gave Native people (through their corporations, not tribal governments) the right to govern their own land. However, it also confuses the land ownership situation and adds a whole new layer of disenfranchisement by creating a legal definition of who would, and could, participate in certain capacities.

Specifically, this refers to joining and obtaining the shares needed to participate in the newly created corporations and meeting all of the criteria mandated to do so.

Under ANCSA section 17(d)(2), the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA) was passed, setting aside 79.3 million acres for conservation. ANILCA redefined hunting and fishing rights for rural Native and non- Native users with stipulations about the Native lands with provisions in ANCSA that allowed the federal government to set aside land for “national and public interest” (Case and Voluck 2002:288). Important for the rural residents of Alaska, ANILCA also addressed subsistence. Section 803 of ANILCA provided “a comprehensive approach to the legal, political, and economic issues that plagued the state’s subsistence policy” (Case and Voluck 2002:289). It established subsistence protections for both Native and non- Native residents in rural Alaska, preserving the rights of all rural residents in Alaska over Indigenous people’s rights to subsistence.

ANILCA also provided for and partially funded an administrative scheme that established local advisory committees and regional advisory councils to work with the Alaska fish and game boards to make policy based on the advisory board recommendations. ANILCA provided “federal oversight and judicial enforcement of state and federal compliance with its provisions” and for subsistence use of public lands that were restrictively classified as parks or park monuments (Case and Voluck 2002:289).

When ANCSA was passed, it abolished “any aboriginal hunting or fishing rights that may exist” (ANCSA, 1971). The State of Alaska constitution says that Alaska must provide for the utilization, development, and conservation of Alaska’s natural resources for the maximum benefit of its people, which is not specific to Alaska Natives. Further, the Constitution of the

State of Alaska prohibits treatment of citizens based on race<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, the passage of ANILCA with the inclusion of subsistence protections for rural residents has been a source of controversy. For Native people the core of the issue has always been subsistence. As Berger (1985) stated, ANILCA does, in fact, restore partial hunting and fishing rights to Alaska Native people but does not go far enough. Prior to and since ANCSA and ANILCA, the State of Alaska, the Federal Government, and Alaska Natives have disagreed on many cases about how subsistence lands and resources should be managed. In April 2014, the United States Supreme Court rejected a State of Alaska appeal to the Katie John case, a well-known lawsuit in which Alaska Natives fought over the right to subsistence fish in waters adjacent to federal land (Doyle 2014). The case has been used to illustrate the complexities of the subsistence issue in the state. The Federal Subsistence Board has met to consider the definition of what rural is, since ANILCA did not include a specific definition. The Federal Subsistence Board participated in formal consultations with tribes and ANCSA corporations and also took public comments. In the public comments, 51% of comments that directly related to the population asked that the populations of a community not even be considered when deciding what is rural and what is urban, while another 17% asked that the current threshold be increased (USFWS, 2014). This led to the Board making nonrural designations across the state and the rest of the state is now considered rural and thus has preference for subsistence. This was important because there were communities where the population is large enough that they were considered urban prior to the new determination. This decision is one example of how people in Alaska are actively engaging in dialogues about access and resource management. It showcases why ANCSA and ANILCA

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<sup>4</sup> The State of Alaska has had varying degrees of recognition of Tribal sovereignty over the years. The Walker administration has been very proactive about recognition of Alaska Native Tribes and their challenges. On September 23, 2018, Governor Bill Walker issued Administrative Order 300 recognizing the linguistic emergency to save Alaska Native languages. < <https://gov.alaska.gov/newsroom/2018/09/gov-walker-recognizes-linguistic-emergency-for-alaska-native-languages/>>



are all still important discussion points. Therefore, knowing the terms and the history and having well- informed leaders is imperative to the success of Native villages, Native people, and the continued access to resources and traditional knowledge held within those resources and landscapes.

### **2.3 Fisheries in the Aleutians**

The Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Commercial Fisheries, manages commercial fisheries in the state of Alaska. The state takes a broad, regional management approach, splitting the state into four regions: Arctic- Yukon- Kuskokwim, Central Region, Southeast Region, and Westward Region. Within these regions, specific management areas are designated, and within those management areas, there are districts, which are further divided into sections. The sections are monitored and managed for each fishery (ADF&G 2013). Figure 3 below illustrates some of the major Alaska salmon fisheries within the state. The management area in the Eastern Aleutians is now called the Alaska Peninsula but for many years had only been known as “Area M” because of the designated letter that was given to it by the state. For a time, it was the only area that was not given a name other than the designated letter on ADF&G publications. Along with some history about the Limited Entry Fishing Act, this section discusses how the act has affected life in the Eastern Aleutians and how it fits into the larger discourse about the management practices of fisheries.

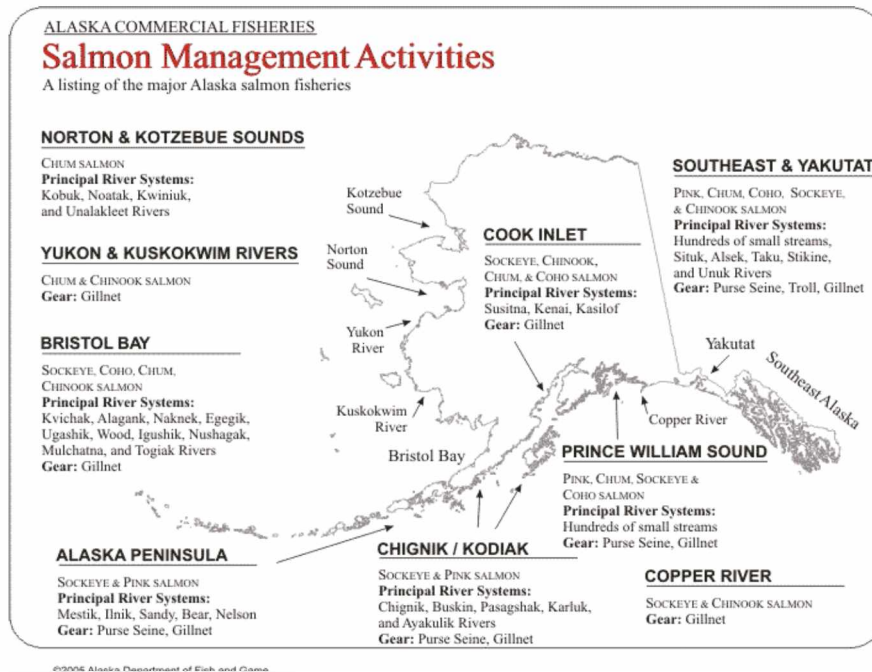


Figure 4: Alaska Department of Fish and Game Salmon Management

In 1973, the State of Alaska passed the Limited Entry Act in response to large numbers of nonresident fishermen in the fishery and a threatened resource. This changed the salmon fishing industry in Alaska. As mentioned people were given permits based on historic participation and factors such as economic dependence on fishing among other details (AS 16.43.250). The regulations affected the entire fleet by limiting the number of persons allowed to fish. The act was the first legislation to eliminate the opportunity for any Aleut fisherman to get involved at the captain level without a family member who was already at this recognized status. The Limited Entry Permit System (known locally as Limited Entry) also jeopardized the cultural practices of some Native groups by allowing some to participate in the program while disallowing others, based on criteria that not everyone could successfully meet. The social and community effects of Limited Entry have been well documented (e.g., Langdon, Kamali, Koslow, Reedy, Carothers). Similarly, Cruz-

Torres (2004) illustrated the complexities of fisheries in Mexico. She noted the effects that decisions at different levels of government had on both governance and structure. Today, in 2018, the system that was implemented still has bearings on the fishing industry and therefore the very fabric of communities in the Aleutians and throughout Alaska.

Overall, the state issued more than 11,000 permits in 14 different fisheries for 7 different gear types, and through 2013, over 19,000 limited entry permits have been issued in 65 fisheries (Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission (CFEC) 2014). The regulations changed the economy in Area M forever (Reedy- Maschner 2007, 2008). The graph indicates that the number of permits held by Aleut people has decreased steadily over time, while the number held by people who are of non- Native descent has increased. Several factors contribute to that. From my own knowledge, some people lost their permits when the markets were down. Without a permit, people were not able to fish and often lost their boats as well because they were unable to make the required payments. Others who were awarded permits for multiple gear types sometimes sold a permit of the gear type they were not using.

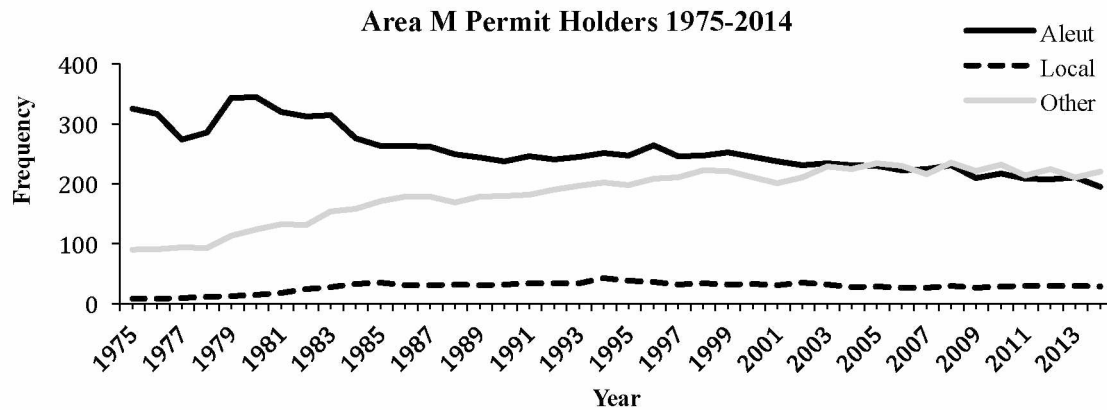


Figure 5: Area M Salmon Permits and Owners

Graph compiled from CFEC by Katherine Reedy- Maschner (2015). Aleut is defined as people of Aleut descent. Other is defined as people of non- Aleut descent. Local consists of people who have lived in the region for at least 20 years and who fish and have families in the region but are not of Aleut descent.

The maximum number of permits allowed for the Alaska Peninsula- Aleutian Islands Area salmon fishery has been 111 purse seine permits, 155 drift gillnet permits, and 110 set gillnet permits. The majority of these permits were originally given to Aleut fishermen (Fig. 5). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, controversy arose between Peninsula/Aleutians and Bristol Bay<sup>5</sup> fishermen concerning the South Unimak, Shumagin Islands, and North Peninsula June fisheries all of which are located in the Alaska Peninsula region (Shaul 2003). Arnie Shaul, a well- known area biologist, reported on the regulations implemented in the Alaska Peninsula- Aleutian Island fisheries:

Beginning in 1975, the Alaska BOF (Board of Fisheries) and Game established guideline harvest levels (GHLs) based on average historic catches. The GHL for the Shumagin Islands was 1.5% of the latest inshore Bristol Bay projected sockeye

<sup>5</sup> Bristol Bay (Area T) located just north of Area M does not allow purse seining. However, their maximum number of entry permits is 1669 drift gillnet permits and 803 set gillnet permits.

harvest, while the South Unimak fishery was allocated 6.8% of the Bristol Bay inshore projected sockeye salmon harvest (2003:4).

What this means to the Area M fishermen<sup>6</sup> is that their catches are based on the number of fish that are projected in Bristol Bay. This is important because Area M is positioned at the end of the Alaska Peninsula and encompasses the first place for fish to cross from the Pacific Ocean into the Bering Sea. Because of this, Area M is considered an intercept fishery, and, in turn, becomes the center of the ongoing debate and controversy regarding the Area M residents' ability to fish. These GHLS<sup>7</sup> were further restricted by time periods during the June season.

Controversy, restrictions, and reduction in opportunity have led to a change in the demographics of the Area M fishermen. The younger generations of Aleut people are looking for other means of economic stability. Vessel operation costs are high and fish prices too low for many to remain in the industry today. Acquiring a boat, permit, and all of the gear one needs to get started is expensive. Recently, a fisherman in King Cove sold his boat, permit, and seines for close to one million dollars.

The repercussions of the limited entry program are still being debated, and the economy in the Eastern Aleutians has been changed forever (Reedy- Maschner 2007, 2008). The global economy is dictating a shift in the way people can learn, participate in, and acquire knowledge related to fisheries. This research illustrates how and what people

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<sup>6</sup> "Area M" is now more commonly referred to as the Alaska Peninsula Management Area. However, amid the discussions and the controversy that surrounded the fight for fisheries resources, the communities in the Area M region have come to not only identify with Area M as where we live, but also have a sense of pride about where we are from.

<sup>7</sup> "Guideline harvest level means the preseason estimated level of allowable fish harvest which will not jeopardize the sustained yield of the fish stocks. An area, district, section or portion thereof may close to fishing before or after the guideline harvest level has been reached if principles of management and conservation dictate such action" (ADF&G 2007).

understand about the history of these fisheries and also how that understanding will affect future local participants in the fisheries.

In a similar situation in New Jersey fisheries, McCay (1998) discussed the way in which people have been active participants in knowledge acquisition as well as the creation of legislation that governs resources and spaces. People often take for granted that things are the way they are because that is the way they have always been. McCay illustrated exactly the opposite. Through an extended series of lawsuits presented throughout the 19th century in and around the state of New Jersey, she demonstrated the complex background to issues still relevant, discussed, and argued today. The cases described by McCay showed the way in which people played active roles in the creation of laws that have set precedents for the future. The ideas of what is “common” are similar to what is thought of as “natural” in the sense that these two terms had to be defined at some point. The lawsuits that defined the ways common property could become private property were defined in part by the 1808 case of *Shepard and Layton v. Leveson*, which led to the first ruling in favor of the public trust doctrine. The public trust doctrine reflects the principle that certain resources are preserved for public use and that the government is required to maintain them for the public’s reasonable use. McCay (1998) stated that in America people have common rights of fishing and navigable waters and also that the state owns the tide- washed land and submerged land because the state acts for a trustee for the people (45). This does, however, vary by state.

For the Aleut people the public trust doctrine is very important, since fishing, living on the landscape, and working together all contribute to what it means to be Aleut. For the most part, people were more tied to the place than to the outside views of a definition of culture (Mack 2009). Therefore, any developments that took place outside of the region, or

any development that took away from the land, the sea, or the food also jeopardized their definition of being Aleut. Like all other cultures, the Aleut culture has also been affected over years by outside influences, each of which has left behind a piece of heritage that has become synonymous with being Aleut today. This kind of indigenizing happens as quickly as things are introduced into a new society (Appadurai 1996). Understanding how these developments are felt on the local level and how these changes affect the everyday life of Native people is imperative to this dialogue. Arnold (2008:76) noted that by regulating and controlling public lands, managers were also acting for the public good or “the greatest good for the greatest number for the longest time.” That claim leads to the question, also pointed out by Arnold, “Which public would be best served by federal management?” In many cases, the public that gets the most attention are the people with the most economic capital to contribute to the cause. The discourses that surround these issues are taking place at many levels and with many different interest groups. The tribal governments, the ANCSA corporations, the State of Alaska, the Federal Government, non- governmental organizations (NGOs), and local residents are a few of the players present in the discourses happening in the Eastern Aleutians.

Arnold’s description of the salmon fishery in Alaska entangling salmon, fishermen, industrialists, scientists, and consumers (2008:4) comprehensively described how multifaceted the fisheries are in the state. Being marginalized by the “rationalization” of fisheries has happened throughout Alaska, as Arnold illustrated, and those happenings, coupled with the shift in the focus of economic development efforts, could potentially affect the social fabric of a community. Rationalization is the allocation of resources between user groups

and gear groups. In the Eastern Aleutians, this research sought to understand how the laws and changes are understood and what that means for future generations.

## **2.4 Indigenous Identity, Aboriginal Title and Blood Quantum**

Weaver (2001) discussed the issue of identity, the labels people use, and how Indigenous identity can be misrepresentative. She noted that often people have been defined from a non- Native perspective. For example, until recently, I believed I was ½ Aleut, German and Russian. Besides the obvious fact that the proportions would actually be thirds, there is much more to the representation. Some ideas about identity are in fact legally binding, colonial definitions that we have as Native people. Taking the dominant way of thinking and applying it systematically across the board is what is actually occurring. For example, Aleut is the name that we are recognized by the US Government; however, when speaking in Unangam Tunuu, the Aleut Language, you would refer to someone who is of our heritage as Unangax. This example is not unique, taking a much closer look leads to the realization that not only are cultures different, but different practices within families and other groups may also contribute to a person's own Indigenous identity. These practices are often not considered in the greater scheme of things. Like culture, identity itself is not static and changes as a person's own perception of himself or herself changes (Weaver 2001). One example of this was written about by Pullar (2001) in an edited volume of literature about Alutiiq heritage and identity. He states that during the time of enrollment under ANCSA, individuals who had previously identified as Russian had to enroll as Alutiiq. They were Alutiiq individuals but had in the past only identified by other cultural backgrounds, even though they had been born and lived in their place for generations. This example is found elsewhere in the State of Alaska.



Garrouette (2003) described the importance of understanding what sets Native people apart from the everyday American. “The significance between Indians and other racial minorities, of course, is that legally defined Indian people enjoy rights and privileges, which other racial groups do not” (29). With a better understanding of treaty rights and what was given up in return for these rights and privileges, I began to think about these definitions. There are no specific treaties in Alaska, but there is a trust responsibility, and Alaska Natives do have sovereignty even though they have lost their land. A great deal may never be recovered and held in the manner that existed prior to Russian and Euro- American colonization and the passage of legislation such as ANCSA. Because of the nature of this legislation and ANILCA that followed, both are imperative to the conversations about identity and access.

Access is often determined by the people who are in power. By selling the aboriginal title, Alaska Natives essentially gave the power to govern to a selected set of persons within their communities, the state, and the nation. Aboriginal title is the right to land that has been used and occupied from time immemorial by Indigenous people. In 2008, Justice Bianco of New York compiled a definition for the “*New York v Shinnecock*” case. In the compiled statements, Justice Bianco assembled meanings of past definitions of Aboriginal rule: “it refers to the Indians' exclusive right to use and occupy lands they have inhabited from time immemorial, but that have subsequently become discovered by European settlers, the title is derived from the doctrine of discovery . . . provided that discovering nations held fee title to these lands, subject to the Indians' right of occupancy, and use.” Justice Bianco continued to state that “Aboriginal title can be extinguished by treaty, by the sword, by purchase, by the exercise of complete dominion adverse to the right of occupancy, or otherwise. Finally, once

extinguishment of aboriginal title occurs, it cannot be revived."<sup>8</sup> What Bianco said is important because prior to the signing of ANCSA, the Native people of Alaska had not been bought or conquered, nor had they sold or given up their right to the land. Thus, the Federal Government and the State of Alaska needed to settle the land claims issue with the Native Alaskan people. In the end, aboriginal title to all the land in Alaska and the subsistence rights had been changed forever.

Mandating legal definitions of Indian and Native was precedent- setting, and the repercussions of this have been felt within all Native communities. Weaver (2001) asked an important question: "Who decides who is an Indigenous person?" Tribal governments in the United States of America have a unique privilege in that they have the ability to set the rules as to who is recognized as a member, and, therefore, defining who has the ability to participate in the tribes and the programs that are available to them. Other Native entities do the same. Members must provide a Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB) or an official tribal enrollment card prior to participation in programs that can include sports events, health care systems, family programs, culture camps, sacred rituals, ceremonies, and even employment opportunities. The degree of blood is also known as blood quantum and the way in which many tribes define who is eligible for their services is by blood quantum. In Alaska, identification has been somewhat confusing because up until the passage of ANCSA, some Alaska Natives did not define themselves as Native (Pullar 2001). Afterward, and still to this day, blood quantum or the way people reported and/or the way census workers documented nationality for complete strangers has become the record of cultural heritage according to the federal government.

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<sup>8</sup> <<http://www.duhaime.org/LegalDictionary/A/AboriginalTitle.aspx>>

The blood quantum notion is that when two people have a child that child's blood consists of 50:50 split of their cultural backgrounds, based on the idea that biology defines race and culture. For example, if the father is Native and the mother is Native, then child would also be 4/4 Native. However, if the father is Swedish and the mother is Native, the child would then be 1/2 Native. Note that not very often is the child defined as 1/2 Swedish. The idea is that the blood mixes to this exact equation and, therefore, defines one as a Native person. If a child's parent is 1/4 Native and the other parent has no Native ancestry, that child would be considered 1/8 Native, and hence ineligible for Native status programs based on 1/4 blood quantum rules.

Legal and biological differences are addressed differently in different places throughout the United States. For example, the Santa Clara Pueblo in New Mexico recognizes people of paternal descent; the Seneca people recognize maternal descent. The Tohono O'Odham give citizenship to any child whose parents both live on the reservation (Garroue 2003). That practice is interesting when considering things like adoption and how it plays a role in who is accepted into a tribe and allowed to participate within the culture in ways that are significant to the culture itself. In the 1950s, only people who were considered Native Hawaiian by at least 50% could participate in the Hawaii Homes Commissions Act (Kauanui 2008). This participation is still being actively debated. An article published on April 1, 2014, noted that the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde of western Oregon were considering disenrolling the Unger family on the basis that their great- great- great- great grandfather, who was instrumental in signing an important treaty with the United States government, was killed before the reservation was established in 1857. Seventy- eight family members of the Unger family trace their heritage to Chief Tumulth; however, according to new enrollment standards, family members would not be let in today and, as mentioned previously, were facing disenrollment.

Professor David Wilkins of the University of Minnesota also reported in this article that in the past two decades over 8,000 people have been cast out of Native tribes (Nogueras 2014). These are just one example of how things are changing, the recent interest in DNA testing adds another layer of difficulty in this issue. Definitions of who can be considered part of a “race” have varied from the one drop rule – to now, in some cases using a genetic marker. (See Tallbear 2013, Kauanui 2008, Zerubavel 2012) In the Eastern Aleutians the Tribes tend to follow the guidelines set out in the ANSCA legislation that states  $\frac{1}{4}$  Native. To be a shareholder of a corporation you need to be a descendant and to have been gifted or inherited shares.

## **2.5 Indigenous Education and Traditional Ecological Knowledge**

When the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867 for \$7.2 million dollars, life changed for the Alaska Native people. One of my uncles, an elder in King Cove, once discussed with me that when he was growing up, his grandfather knew how to speak Aleut, Russian, and English. Within a short period of time, however, the assimilation of Natives has left the Aleut people with less than 90 speakers of Unangam Tunuu (Aleut Language) (APIA 2013). Many of the elders grew up being forbidden to speak the language, and were sometimes physically punished for doing so, thus leaving very few speakers to keep the language alive. The systematic change in educational processes has had a dramatic effect on all generations of Alaskans and has not only changed language acquisition but also has directly affected the amount of knowledge held within those languages from being passed on. With the passage of time, the challenge remains of how to reincorporate traditional knowledge and Alaska Native languages and ways of thinking and knowing back into the educational system in Alaska.

At a more localized level, the ability to participate translates to educating the youth both academically and traditionally. There has been a recent push to incorporate the traditional knowledge that was the foundation of survival for the Native groups prior to contact. At the 2003 Native Educators' Conference, Andersen- Spear gave a speech titled "Alaska Native Education: Past, Present and Future." The speakers discussed critical turning points in Alaska Native education and how those changes were having an effect on rural communities. The speakers understood that in order for Alaska Native children to be successful, they were going to need an integrated education that encompassed both the traditional Native ways of life along with the skills required to succeed in Western society (Andersen- Spear 2003). The speakers stated that educational programs needed to be modeled in such a way that Native students become "proficient in skills necessary to continue subsistence tradition" (2003). A portion of this dissertation sought to understand how, where, and who is still participating in a subsistence lifestyle and whether legislation has impeded this way of life. By gauging the ways people are learning or not learning about laws that directly tie Native people to the land and resources, assessments and plans for delivering useful information can be developed.

At the 1999 Native Educators' Conference, Demmert addressed the same issue of Alaska Native students not being taught only Western ways. "We should not mindlessly seek 'progress' without asking if there's a price that we're not taking into account." He pointed out that some of the Western education has led the next generations to know less about "the old ways" (2009:36). "All it takes," said Demmert, "is one generation devoid of Native cultural experience to transform our children into generic human beings" who have no cultural roots (2009:38). Cultural roots are important because they give people a sense of

self and belonging within a community and place. Barnhardt (2014) suggested that one way to incorporate culture into the educational setting is to develop a way for an institution to be aware of cultural values and practices and to develop opportunities for Native people to be involved in the decision- making processes of the institutions themselves. Not only are these cultural roots important to education but also within this study. Understanding the local dynamics of the social structure and cultural practices enhanced the validity of this study by portraying the knowledge of people who are current leaders even if that knowledge is not specific to regulations.

## **2.6 Discussion**

This chapter described many complex issues that exist behind legislation regarding resource management in the Eastern Aleutians. Understanding how the rules translate back and forth between scales and user groups was one of my main goals. As resources are governed for one species, other species often need to be managed or removed from the same ecosystem. In the Eastern Aleutians, the Aleut people have been the overlooked and marginalized party, often having to justify the changes in their culture because of the presence and the interaction within the global economy prior to those of other Native Alaskan groups. The politics and the access to the resources are thought of as the same. People participate for both economic and cultural survival on a daily basis. Their active approaches to resource management will determine the ways in which the future generations of Aleut people will be able to move and subsist across the landscape and what kinds of knowledge about the environment and traditional uses about resources will survive. Johnson (1992) defined Indigenous or traditional knowledge as the knowledge that people build up through generations of living in close contact with nature. Ned (2001) stated that

this knowledge serves as the basis for cultural identity. Therefore, understanding what people know about traditional ecological knowledge is imperative to cultural identity and cultural survival.

## **2.7 Approach to Research**

This research approach combined Indigenous ethnography with a political ecology framework in a community-based research project. This project assessed what people in two Eastern Aleutian communities know about laws that directly affect the ways they are able to navigate across the landscape. As Wilson (2008) explained, interaction between the investigator and the subjects is the key to this epistemology, with the reality made up of socially constructed concepts that are shared within the community. As an Aleut researcher, I approached this methodology from an emic perspective as I am a part of the community. I grew up in the Eastern Aleutians with a large family extending throughout the region and into the political realm. Further, in this work, I drew on my own traditional knowledge passed down to me from my ancestors. A recent study by Salomon, Huntington, Tanape Sr. (2011) about the decline of the bidarki (*Katharina tunicate*, black Katy chiton) in Nanwalek and Port Graham, Alaska, acknowledged that traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) held by Elders “provided important information on ecological, socioeconomic, and cultural conditions, past and present, that was otherwise not available.” Likewise, this study looked to the Native leaders, some of whom were Elders, to understand the ways that legislation may be affecting TEK in the community.

Johnson (1992) explained that TEK is knowledge that people build up through generations of living in close contact with nature. Kawagley (1997) wrote that this contact with nature was based on harmony since the worldviews and technologies of Alaska Natives

were conducive to it. “Their lives, subsistence methods and technology were devised to edify their world view” (217). This was also true with the Aleut people. Ned (2001) wrote, “Indigenous research today has implications for the survival of people, cultures, and languages.” This research contributes to that very conversation. Understanding the issue from an Indigenous point of view and also approaching the issue from an Indigenous perspective will, as Ned said, “provide greater authenticity and control over the knowledge.”





### **Chapter 3 - Research Design and Methodology**

This chapter presents the research design and methodology that were used to study leadership knowledge and values that are highlighted in chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation. The methods presented here were finalized with community input; each method adds a layer of depth to the story of Aleut leadership. This dissertation also incorporates work from a simultaneous project that I worked on with the Native Village of Belkofski in King Cove.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, we currently lack a baseline understanding about what Aleut people know about laws that directly affect access to land and ocean resources. Hunting and fishing regulations coupled with legislation that dictate access to natural resources have the potential to impact future generations if current leaders are not familiar with the complex details of the regulations and are engaged in policy- making efforts. Some legislation includes a clause regulating participation based on blood quantum, which can be problematic for future generations of Aleut people if people marry and have children with people from outside the region (see Langdon 2016). In addition, the abolishment of aboriginal title to lands in Alaska and Indigenous hunting and fishing rights makes understanding who owns the land and controls access to resources imperative to future generations.

This research set out to establish a baseline of information and identified gaps in education or knowledge acquisition about laws and restrictions that have residual effects throughout the Aleut communities. This research was designed to explore the complexities of transmitting and preserving traditional knowledge to descendants while access to the traditional hunting and fishing grounds and practices may be limited based on factors outlined in legislation.

In advance of any data collection, I established a review committee (CBPR Principle) of locally knowledgeable people in King Cove and Sand Point to review my study design. This helped to ensure the accuracy and appropriateness of the content of the questions in relation to the local cultural context as well as to examine the overall cultural responsiveness of the educational systems in the context of this project (Alaska Native Educators 1998). The review committee helped me to focus this research plan in a way they felt was appropriate.

The final research plan included multiple methods of data collection – participant observations, critical case studies, key informant interviews, and a survey administered to elected Aleut leaders.

#### CBPR Process for Aleut Leaders Project

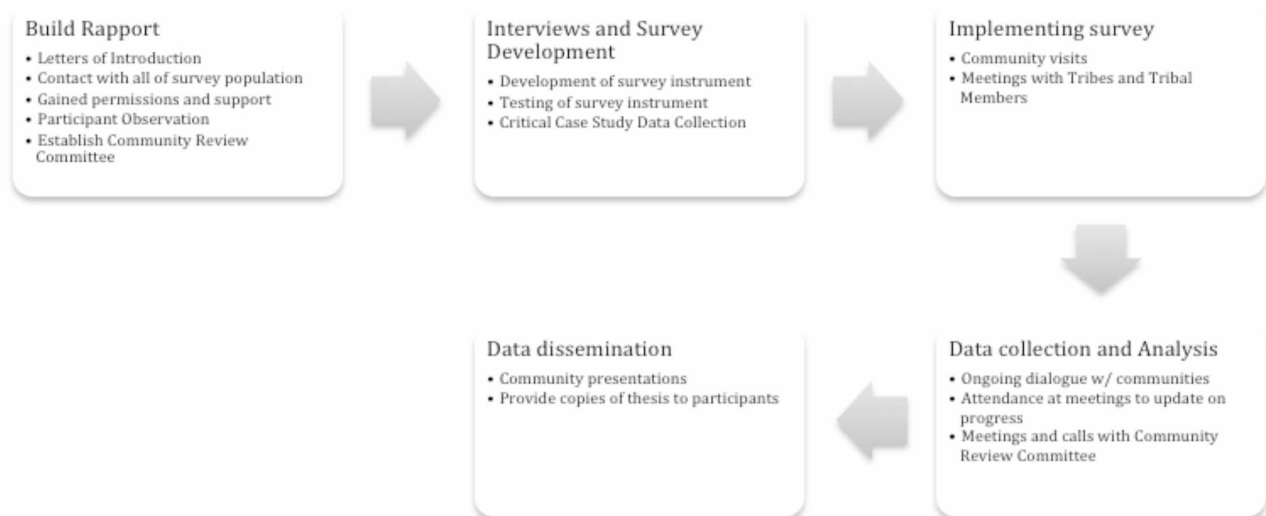


Figure 6: Outline of CBPR Process Used During Project

### **3.1 Research Site**

The Aleut region begins in the east at Sand Point and stretches over a thousand miles to the island of Attu in the west. The region is known for its harsh weather. There are a total of 167 islands with over 45 in the Aleut region (Aleut Corporation 2013). The research in this paper focused on two communities located in the Eastern Aleutians and included Anchorage, Alaska. The communities included the fishing communities of King Cove and Sand Point.

These Aleut communities consist of 5 tribal councils and 5 village corporations. The regional nonprofit corporation and regional corporation are headquartered in Anchorage. The populations of each of the communities are as follows: King Cove—938, Sand Point—976, and Anchorage—298,610 (U.S. Census 2010). Within these locations, the study included a specific group of people involved on boards and tribal councils. Anchorage is Alaska's largest city and is located approximately 625 air miles from the Eastern Aleutians. Travel to these communities is limited to air or by sea.

Since Anchorage is the largest city, it is often the central meeting place for many Native people. Annual meetings held there include the Alaska Federation of Natives, the Bureau of Indian Affairs Annual Providers Conference, and the Aleut Corporation Shareholder meeting. Anchorage is also the only place for many people to receive required medical attention, so I based my research out of Anchorage and traveled back and forth to the Aleut region to maximize the contact with Native leaders.

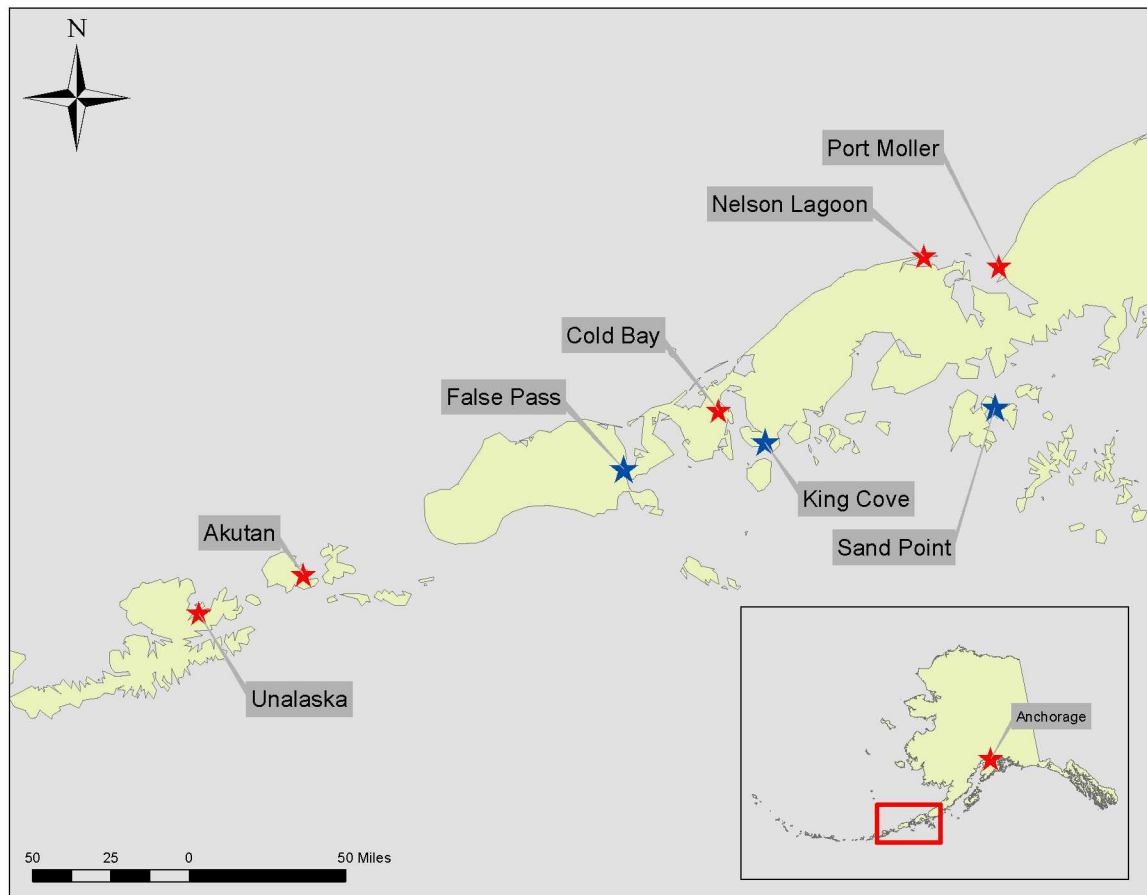


Figure 7: Eastern Aleutians. Map by Sean Mack.

### 3.1.1 - King Cove

King Cove is an Aleut fishing community located at the southern end of the Alaska Peninsula. It was founded in 1911 when the Pacific American Fisheries built a cannery there. The city incorporated in 1949 and contains two federally recognized tribes and two village corporations. King Cove is a mix of non- Native and Aleut (Unangan) residents. The people hunt caribou and many species of birds. They also fish and gather traditional foods from the area. They pick blueberries, salmon berries, moss berries, and wine berries, freezing or making the berries into jams or jellies to use during the winter. The people also harvest putchkies (cow parsnip *Heracleum lanatum*), petrushkies (beach lovage *Ligusticum scoticum*), and edible

delicacies from the tidepools, including urchins, clams, padarkis (black katy chitons), and octopus. They also eat a lot of seafood, including halibut, cod, and salmon. Salmon is jarred, smoked, dried, frozen and salted for the winter. Halibut and cod are also frozen to be used throughout the year.

### **3.1.2 - Sand Point**

Sand Point is a fishing community located in the Shumagin Islands. The community has a large transient population, but many of the residents who live in Sand Point used to reside in Pauloff Harbor on Sanak Island and Unga. The community was founded in 1898 and was a trading post and cod- fishing station. The city was incorporated in 1966. Similar to the residents of other Aleutian villages, the people who reside in Sand Point put up salmon for the winter by smoking, drying, jarring, and salting the fish. Subsistence practices like putting up fish and getting a home pack to fill the freezers and live off the land are very important aspects of life in the Aleutians because of the high cost of living. For example, in 2018 Sand Point a gallon of gas costs \$5.05 (the comparative price in Anchorage was \$3.16 in 9/26/18).

## **3.2 Data Collection Procedure**

### **3.2.1 Access and Approval**

As mentioned above, this project was developed with a local review committee made of members from King Cove and Sand Point that reviewed and provided guidance on my study design. This project was approved by the Institution Review Board of the University of Alaska Fairbanks on July 1, 2014 (IRB approval # 629576-1). This study received UAF IRB approval each year until the completion of the dissertation study.

Community project partners in King Cove, including the Agdaagux Tribal Council, the Belkofski Tribal Council and the King Cove Corporation provided assistance in

identifying potential respondents and through letters of support for the project. The other tribes and corporations in the communities were contacted to establish partnerships and to gain more valuable input for the project.

### **3.2.2 Sample Population and Initiation of Research**

The population of interest for this work was Aleut leaders and residents living in or serving the communities of King Cove and Sand Point, Alaska. For the participant observation component of my study I participated and observed community life in King Cove and Sand Point as a family and community member and as a researcher. I spent time participating in cultural activities, learning Unangam Tunuu, attending and helping organize community events while also visiting and learning from community members. For the critical case studies, I deliberately chose two people who were nominated by many of the snowball survey respondents. Knowing both of them from previous research and from growing up in the community, I knew that their stories could illustrate effectively how multi- faceted people are and do so in a way that also highlighted the cultural component. I wanted to showcase a male and a female and also two different age groups, one older and one younger. For the key informant respondents, I interviewed people who were mentioned multiple times in the snowball sample to help develop the survey. For the survey portion of this work described below, I had a sampling frame of any person who served on a tribal council or Alaska Native corporation or non- profit board in 2016. Table 1 lists all of the Tribal Organizations and ANCSA Village Corporations that made up my survey sampling frame.

**Table 1: Tribal and ANCSA Organizations**

Community	Tribal Organizations	Corporations
King Cove	Agdaagux Tribal Council, Belkofski Village Council	King Cove Corporation, Belkofski Corporation
Sand Point	Unga Tribe, Pauloff Harbor Tribe, Qagan Tayagungin Tribe	Sanak Corporation, Shumagin Corporation, Unga Corporation
Anchorage (region- wide) umbrella organizations)	Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association	Aleut Corporation

In the summer of 2014, I traveled home to King Cove to begin my dissertation research. Summers in the Eastern Aleutians are a busy time. The wind is warm; the mountains are green; the towns are bustling with activities as people prepare for fishing and for collecting and preserving their fish, berries, and plants for the winter months ahead.

I began my project upon arrival. The first task I completed was to deliver a letter about my project to all the people serving at the time on the Agdaagux Tribal Council, the Belkofski Village Council, the Qagan Tayagungin Tribe, the Unga Tribal Council, or the Pauloff Harbor Tribal Councils. I delivered the same letter to elected members of the board of directors serving on the King Cove Corporation, the Belkofski Corporation, the Shumagin Corporation, the Unga Corporation, or the Sanak Corporation. The letter introduced the project and asked for assistance in identifying people who should be included as key informants to interview and who could inform the survey development process. I gave each person an opportunity to name up to three people to nominate for inclusion. From the letters that were delivered to 98% of all the



sitting board and tribal council members at the time, I generated a list of people who became my key informants and guided the development of my survey.

Along with beginning the survey development and gaining access to people, much of my field research, or participant observation was being present in the community. Throughout this process, I have spent weeks and months living and participating in life in King Cove and Sand Point. I have taken time to learn Unangam Tunuu and teach it at culture camps in both communities. I have spent time helping to put up fish and pick berries. I have brought my son, niece and nephew to King Cove to help continue the traditions that we learned growing up as well.

### **3.2.3 Critical Case Studies**

Critical case studies have been noted as a qualitative research method that illustrates an in- depth understanding of a person or a community. In conjunction with the key information interviews that contributed to the survey, I also worked closely with two Aleut leaders to present in detail stories and experiences from their lives as example case studies. These case studies showcase the effort required to be in a leadership position that contributes to the well- being of the Aleut communities. These case studies illustrate firsthand the dedication and the knowledge that builds strong leadership in our communities. Bernard and Ryan pointed out that “case studies can involve many data collection methods, including direct and indirect observation along with structured and unstructured interviewing” (2010:43). The data collection methods used in the research included all of these methods. Presenting the information in this way results in a more comprehensive understanding of a group (Miles and Huberman 1994:25). Further, George and Bennett state that case studies increase the conceptual validity of a study (2004:19).

### **3.2.4 Semi- structured Interviews**

From my requests to Tribal Council members to nominate study participants, I received 42 nominations in writing and by phone and email. This generated a list of 49 people. There were 14 females (29% of the people suggested) and 35 males (71% of the people suggested in the snowball sample) named. From the list of 49 names, 27 people were nominated only once. Five people were named five or more times. Out of the 14 females nominated to assist with the survey development, only five women, or 36% of the females named to assist with the survey development, were under the age of 40. For males, only one of the 35 men, or 3%, was under the age of 40.

For these interviews (and input to the survey development) I contacted the 10 people who were recommended by more than four elected leaders. I was able to interview eight of the 10 recommended people. I was not able to contact one person and one declined to be interviewed. To broaden my sample of interviewees, I added one male and female, both under the age of 40, who were or had been on a tribal council or a corporation's board of directors.

I conducted directed, semi- structured interviews with these 10 key informants from the villages of King Cove and Sand Point. The interviews explored informants' experiences with, and perceptions of, access rights, Indigenous rights, fisheries, and natural resource management with special regard to ANCSA, ANILCA, and the Limited Entry Act of 1973 were discussed as themes. Many of the questions were open- ended to encourage issues to emerge naturally. The questions and topics were addressed in the same order with each key informant to produce reliable and comparable qualitative data (Bernard 2006:212)

#### *Questions for key informants:*

- How long have you been involved with the tribe or corporation?

- What do you feel is important for your current and future members to understand about natural resources in the area?
- What do you feel is important for your current and future members to understand about the laws that govern access to natural resources in the area?
- What information do you know now that would have helped you earlier in your position?
- How did you get your knowledge about X, or how did you come to understand these laws, etc.?
- Is there any area of management that you would like to know more about?

In addition to providing a rich set of ethnographic data to analyze, these interviews provided opportunities to refine my survey instrument design. Similar to a focus group, the interviews provided both a head start on what to ask in the survey and a guide in developing the survey instrument (Salant and Dillman 1994). I presented the key informants with possible survey questionnaire structures. For instance, after ferreting out the information about what would be useful for key informants to know, I created various questions in the forms of Likert items, open- ended questions, and true/false examples that informants assessed.

### **3.2.5 Survey Instrument**

At the onset of this project, I imagined the survey instrument would be my primary method of data collection. Originally, one of the goals of the survey was to serve as a knowledge test (e.g., to answer my primary research question: *What do Aleut people know about the laws that directly affect their access to local resources?*). I thought I would develop a tool that could measure how much people knew about specific pieces of laws and legislation

that they could answer correctly. However, as I began developing a survey instrument, I realized that the survey was a Western method of measuring knowledge. What I really wanted to know was what not only the laws but also the way people learned about them, when they were passed on as knowledge and thus how and what people were learning about them today. I also wanted to know whether or not an individual's knowledge affected the way that individual was interacting with the landscape and what, if any effects those behaviors had on the individual's cultural practices. I also wanted to discuss with people their perceived links between subsistence and policy change.

While I had some reservations about the survey methodology at the design stage, I did decide to pursue a survey as part of my research with a participatory design. As I describe above, I did not want the survey to be only indicative of my ideas, so I sought out the help of individuals in my community. Using the qualitative data and the feedback from key informants, I developed a survey instrument was developed and administered to assess the knowledge of the Native leaders who participated on the tribal councils and corporation boards. Please see Appendix B for the UAF IRB approved format.

To test the validity and reliability of the survey instrument, I worked with leaders in King Cove and Sand Point and the community review committee. These people were different than the key informants and were not part of the survey population. We worked together on the revising the wording, the layout, and the pilot testing of the paper survey. From these tests, I got feedback on how to improve the survey. This included changes in layout and the way the questions were asked, taking them from asking questions about the topics specifically to open ended options where people could state what they knew, if they so chose.

### **3.2.6 Survey Implementation Methods**

The surveys were printed and either hand delivered or mailed. As many as I could hand deliver in both King Cove and Sand Point were given out that way. In King Cove, I hand numbered them so the survey numbers matched the numbers on the informed consent so they could be kept confidential.

I provided everyone with self- addressed stamped envelopes and pens, and in several cases, at their request, I assisted with recording the answers for some of the respondents. Within the survey population there were 84 people who were eligible (serving on a board) at that time. As mentioned, there were more seats but since multiple people hold multiple seats the survey population was only 64. I received 21 surveys back, a response rate of 33%.

### **3.2.7 Incorporation of Oral History Research Conducted Simultaneously**

In 2005, I joined the Cultural Heritage Department of the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association. They asked me to partner with them on the Belkofski Oral History Project. This project was spearheaded by the Native Village of Belkofski to document the stories of the people and the place that many families in King Cove originated from.

I assisted with the community outreach, the planning, the interviews, the transcription and logging of the videos, the production and ultimately the direction of the film released in 2018 by the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association. Some of the stories and dialogue captured for this project have been incorporated here to illustrate the connectedness to the land that is found throughout the Aleutians.

The interviews that were conducted for this oral history covered a wide array of topics from the structure of the communities, to governance within the communities, health, medicine, travel within the region, history, language, culture, weather and subsistence. They

provide a wonderful wealth of knowledge that reinforces some of the topics interrogated here.

### **3.3 Data Storage and Management Plan**

With approval from key informants, I digitally recorded the interviews. With participant approval, I also recorded some conversations with the participants in the critical case studies. In accordance with the IRB, the recordings are stored at the University of Alaska Fairbanks in the office of Cross Cultural Studies. The narrative interviews were transcribed by me and a professional transcription service and coded in the qualitative data analysis software program, MaxQDA.

Recordings of interviews and other data collected from people are sensitive and confidential, and handling of this data followed all applicable rules and regulations set forth in a Common Rule, “Protection of Human Subjects” and also in NSF’s Common Rule on Protection of Human Subjects (1991). All of the interview and other qualitative data generated from the project were stored as password- protected documents on a password protected computer. During the study period, all documents were regularly backed up using a password- protected data storage drive. The documents were also backed up on external hard drives that were stored at the office of Dr. Courtney Carothers and in a locked filing cabinet at my home office. These interviewees will be offered a copy of their interview and they will be archived appropriately depending on the wishes of the interviewee. The data formed the basis for the knowledge test and any descriptive information provided by key informants. Names were not associated with the interviews unless the subjects preferred their name to be used. Most people asked to remain anonymous.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

There were several different methods used throughout this research. This section speaks to the analysis that was done to each of the different methods, including participant observation, critical case studies, key informant interviews, and surveys.

My approach to analyzing and presenting this research was being open to the inherent knowledge of the community members and participants and not needing to classify their knowledge into a Western scientific sense. This narrative approach was critical to presenting the information in a culturally appropriate way.

#### **3.4.1 Participant Observation Analysis**

The summers and the weeks that I spent in the Eastern Aleutians coupled with the time spent at various meetings and both formal and informal gatherings in Anchorage illustrated the dynamics of the communities. I took notes and many photographs of things that I participated in each day. This included traditional food gathering and preparation along with social activities. I used these notes and photos to describe what the summer was like in the communities.

#### **3.4.2 Critical Case Studies Analysis**

To illustrate the complex issues that Aleut Leaders deal with, two life histories were conducted and presented in depth as critical case studies. These case studies were developed with the participants and also discussed with the community review committee to ensure appropriateness of the dialogue and how it contributed to the larger scope of the dissertation. The two case studies presented were researched and written with the chosen leaders. Both Etta and David were hands on with the writing of their oral histories/case studies, and they assisted in the writing and drafting of the pieces included here.

### **3.4.3 Key Informant Analysis**

The verbatim transcripts of the key informant interviews (n=10) were analyzed using a grounded theory in the qualitative data analysis software program, MAXQDA. In a grounded theory approach (Corbin and Strauss 2015, Glaser and Strauss 2006), a research does not prepare a set of themes or hypotheses with which to evaluate the data; rather the data are closely explored and key themes and examples emerge from these close readings.

Feedback from key informants about the survey design were also collected, summarized and incorporated to refine the survey instrument.

### **3.4.4. Survey Analysis**

The survey results were compiled into an Excel spreadsheet. These results were then tallied and described. Tables and graphs were created and summaries of demographic variables were written about in the text. All of the information received from the surveys has been documented, but for the purpose of discussion not every question was addressed here. All of the data will be shared with the communities during community visits.





## **Chapter 4 - Aleut Leaders and Natural Resource Management**

Throughout my dissertation research, I have learned and gained insight from amazing people that included not only knowledge about the land, water, animals, and weather, but also other skills that help to manage and navigate the governance systems and structures previously discussed. My experience has shown that once people begin to participate in some of the organizational meetings, they are often tasked with responsibilities and continually asked to participate.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first provides two examples of successful leaders in the Aleut communities of King Cove and Sand Point. The second sections use qualitative data to illustrate some of the themes that emerged from the interviews I have conducted. The stories of the leaders illustrate a knowledge of history of place, showcase a responsibility and commitment to family and community, and demonstrate determination and hard work to keep traditions and culture alive. The stories and the leaders' sustained efforts are illustration of how these dynamics play into the success of a community.

### **4.1 Critical Case Study: Tukugan**

The Aleut people have been an integral part of the ecosystem of the Alaska Peninsula and the Aleutian Islands for thousands of years (Dunne et al. 2016). The population is estimated to have been 16,000—20,000 (Laughlin:1980). These traditional Unangax societies, situated around salmon streams and migrating animals were stratified and sustainable. Veniaminov, a well-known Russian Orthodox priest, recognized at least three distinct segments of Aleut society: nobles, commoners and slaves. Tukux, or chiefs, were men, who were skillful hunters whose children and nephews represented the highest class.

Today, the population of the Aleut villages has declined dramatically from pre- contact estimates. Although the stratification of villages is not as it was previously, they are still very much sustainable and vibrant. Villages today are complex and diversified in ways different from what they have previously been. However, the communities are smaller and, therefore, the number of people available to do all of the jobs needed to keep a community thriving is limited, as is the amount of resources available to grow, enhance, and sustain the villages. In order to do the work needed to be done in the communities, people often wear multiple hats. They sit on multiple boards, run successful fishing operations, travel back and forth to meet with legislators, and provide for their families. People have traveled by boat, singing songs about the landscape to remember their course and gather what they need. Like the ocean, the people are versatile, dynamic, and filled with abundant resources.

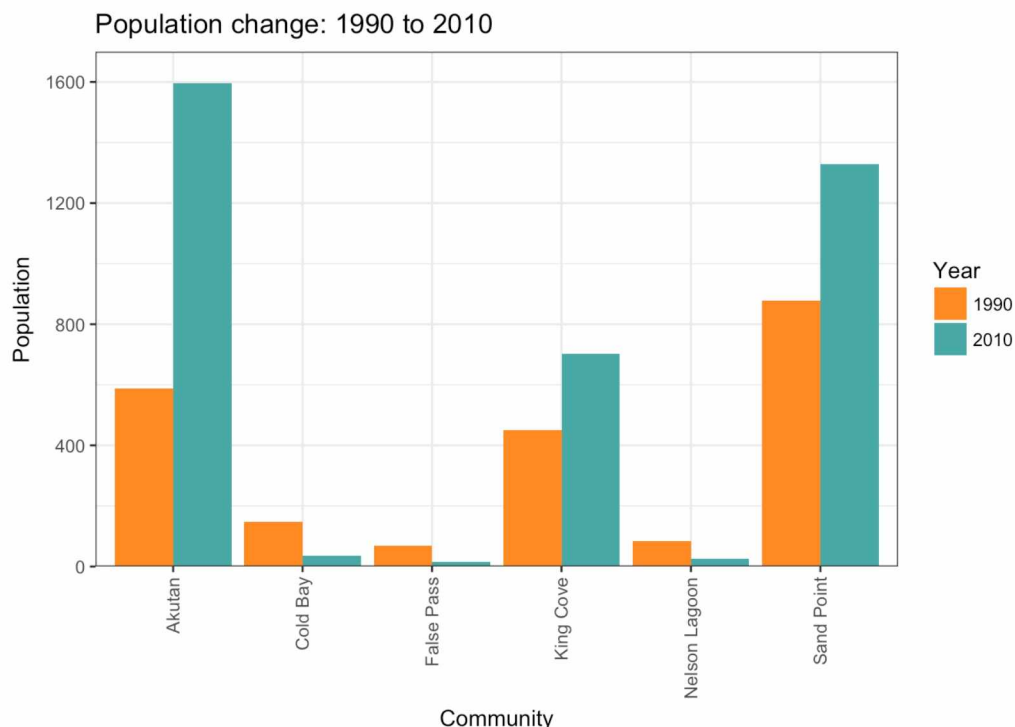


Figure 8: Population Change 1990- 2010. By Jesse Coleman.

The populations in the smaller villages in the Aleutians has been decreasing, while the larger communities have grown. Data: U.S. Census 2010.

#### **4.1.1 Etta Kuzakin - President, Agdaagux Tribal Council, King Cove, Alaska - *Ayagax*.**

Etta Kuzakin is the President of the Agdaagux Tribal Council in King Cove. Born in 1977, she was raised in King Cove, she graduated from King Cove High School before attending the University of Alaska Fairbanks for several years. Etta is the youngest of three children born to the late Henry “Sonny Boy” Larsen, Jr., and Pauline Dushkin. Etta comes from two large families.

Etta’s mom was a Dushkin from Belkofski, and her father was one of seven children born to Henry, Sr., and Annie Smith. Etta’s family was integral to the establishment of the community of King Cove. Her grandfather, Henry Sr., was one of the first postmasters in King Cove, serving in that position for many years. The King Cove Post Office opened in 1914 (Kirker 2011). Mail was delivered to King Cove via a mail boat that arrived monthly. Having a post office was seen as a big step for the small Aleutian community; it gave people an economic base and allowed people to send communications to outside people and entities. More importantly, the post office provided people opportunities to participate in commercial activities. For example, people were able to order groceries and personal items from places like Sears, Roebuck and Company. Etta recalls stories of groceries initially arriving in barrels. As time passed, the mail came more regularly, flown in on the goose, an aircraft equipped to make water landings prior to the opening of the King Cove airport in 1985.

Etta’s mom, Pauline, and dad, Sonny, were both involved in community affairs. Pauline has been involved in the King Cove Women’s Club since it was created in the late 1950s when King Cove women gathered candy to fill stockings distributed to kids at the chapel service during the Christmas holiday. Today, the King Cove Women’s Club Christmas Eve Program remains the biggest event of the year. Sonny Larsen was on the King Cove City School Board,

the Aleutians East Borough School Board, the King Cove City Council, the King Cove Corporation Board of Directors, and the Agdaagux Tribal Council Board of Directors.

Following in the footsteps of her parents, Etta has also been involved in public office and volunteering. She has been a positive role model to many and has assisted with a number of things, including efforts to revitalize local language and culture. Etta has been the President of the Agdaagux Tribal Council (ATC) for the past nine years. During her time on the council, ATC has grown from being merely self-sustaining to being an example of success in the operation of gaming and programs. The council has increased the programs and grants available to tribal members and the community at large, offering services ranging from child care to food boxes to scholarships for members wanting to pursue higher education. One of the prominent discussions that has benefitted from Etta's leadership is her advocacy for a single lane gravel road to connect the communities of King Cove and Cold Bay.

Etta discussed the road issue in the following:

We as a community have been fighting for a road from King Cove to Cold Bay for over 20 years for health and safety. Cold Bay has the third largest runway in Alaska. It was built in WWII. The closest we have gotten is in 1998, Congress appropriated funds for a \$9- million hovercraft for King Cove. It failed due to high cost, and not being able to run in winds higher than 30 mph, which in King Cove is most of the time. With that funding we were able to build the road up to the boundaries of the Izembek [National Wildlife Refuge]. What is needed now is 11 miles thru the refuge to connect to the existing roads in Cold Bay. We need this road for health and safety. King Cove airport is closed due to weather an average of 100 days out of the year, which means that if there is a medical emergency we must take a boat to get to Cold Bay (two hours) or hope that the US Coast Guard, is in the area, and can make it in to King Cove to get the patient to Cold Bay for medivac plane that will take them to Anchorage.

Etta went on to relay her own story of needing to be medevaced to Cold Bay:

On March 4<sup>th</sup> 2013, I was lucky. The Coast Guard was there to save me. I had gone in to pre-term labor and needed to get to Anchorage for an emergency C-section. The clinic in King Cove is not able to do such medical procedures, and I needed to get to Cold Bay to get to the medevac plane waiting for me. The weather in King Cove was too ugly for me to make it out. I could not go on a

boat because of the condition I was in. The clinic staff called the US Coast Guard, who at the time was doing exercises on the Bering Sea side and agreed to come and pick me up and bring me to Cold Bay. When I got to Cold Bay there was a medevac plane waiting. I got to Anchorage, and within hours my daughter was born. All this drama, could have been eliminated, if we only had a road to Cold Bay. I am happy to be one the people that were lucky enough to have a happy ending, but we have lost many lives and will continue to if we don't get the road to Cold Bay soon.

Sunnie Rae Annette Kay Kuzakin was born on March 4, 2013. She was several weeks early and was delivered, as stated above, by emergency C- section. She is the youngest of three girls born to Etta and Radion Kuzakin. Etta and Radion both grew up in King Cove and were married in 1999. They raised all of their children in King Cove and have been actively involved in the community, hunting, fishing, and living a subsistence lifestyle. In 2014, Etta and Radion, who had been married 15 years at that time, were remarried in the Holy Resurrection Church of Christ. The Church was originally built in 1843 in Belkofski and carries a long history of influence of Russian Orthodoxy in the Eastern Aleut people. Black (1999) noted that the church was paid for by Aleut people in the 1840s with donations of furs in the amount of 324.50 rubles. Taking inflation into account, the church would have cost close to \$528,000 dollars in 2017.

Etta has been employed at the Aleutians East Borough School District (AEBSD) since 1996. She started as a teacher's aide and later moved into the position of technology teacher. She worked as the site technology specialist serving the King Cove School and also worked as the AEBSD tech director for two years, overseeing all schools in the AEBSD. Etta ultimately decided against taking on the title of tech director full- time because of the requirement to live in Sand Point instead of King Cove, where she resides with her family. She facilitates the exchange of technological information in the district and has also recently assumed the title of school librarian.

While working at the school, Etta also supervises extracurricular activities. She is the cross- country and the Native Youth Olympics coach and regularly coaches her players to state tournaments. She also has taken the lead with the King Cove Aleut Dance Group and spent time with Ethan Petticrew, learning how to not only speak Unangam Tunuu but also how to write and compose songs for the group to perform. Petticrew played an instrumental role in the revitalization of Aleut dance in the region and has continued this in Anchorage, where he the leader of the Anchorage Unangax dancers. Ethan worked with Etta to teach her the traditional songs and dances and gave the new troupe permission to share them. One song in particular that the two worked on was from the late Simeon Kuzakin (1937- 2018), a well- known and respected elder, who taught the group how to sing an old gambling song that he brought with him from the village of Belkofski. The Agdaagux Tagamaslasikan were invited to perform at the 2016 Annual Aleut Corporation Meeting in Anchorage.

#### **4.1.2 David Osterback - President, Qagan Tayagungin Tribe, Sand Point, Alaska - *Tukux*.**

David Osterback was born in False Pass on February 15, 1945. He was raised between False Pass and Sand Point but spent some summers on a homestead on Wosnesenski Island with his mother, brother, sisters, and grandparents while his father commercial fished in the Eastern Aleutians. *Unatxux*^ or Wosnesenski Island is a small island located 36 miles southwest of Popof Island, where the community of Sand Point is located.

Spending time on Wosnesenski gave David many of his favorite memories:

It was fantastic to live out there; it reminded me of the Robinson Crusoe movie. Water was taken from spring water and packed with shoulder boards. All of our heat was from a wood stove. We spent many hours collecting logs from along the beaches for firewood that would not only last the summer but winter. This was an ongoing project. Especially sawing and chopping up all of the wood and making kindling wood to start early morning fires in the stove.

Time spent on Wosnesenski was not only used to collect the wood needed for the winter but also to put up the food the family needed to make it through to the next summer. The Osterback family had several vegetable gardens and cattle on the island. A prize Hereford bull and three Hereford cows were introduced on Wosnesenski in 1938 when William Sudder gave the animals to David's father. In 2014, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) staff who work on the Izembek National Wildlife Refuge counted 129 cattle on Wosnesenski. The staff counted five large groups along with several bulls and also stated on the refuge website that there were calves present in each of the five large groups (Lowe, 2014). The USFWS had planned on removing all the cattle from Wosnesenski and Chirikof Islands. Wosnesenski is part of the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge and the stance of the USFWS is that unauthorized cattle do not belong on the refuge. However, due to many meetings, letters, and phone calls against the removal of the cattle and since no funds have been dedicated to these efforts, the cattle still remain on the islands.

Along with raising and harvesting cattle, the family did a lot of subsistence fishing, collecting berries, gathering wild plants/roots, and hunting for bird eggs. They spent time in the summers harvesting from the gardens and preserving what they gathered by canning, jarring, and drying. They also canned, jarred, dried, and smoked their fish and beef. Most of the food supply was for the family during the winter with about one third of it shared and sold to people in the surrounding villages. David mentioned people lining up to purchase smoked salmon from them when they would arrive in other towns at the end of the summer.

Like many people in his age group, David spent his high school years away from his home at Sand Point; his freshman year was in Poulsbo, Washington, followed by three years at Jackson Boarding School in Sitka, Alaska. He credits the years at Sheldon Jackson with



providing him exclusive opportunities to meet other students from all over rural Alaska and other parts of the United States. David was active in sports, playing basketball and participating in track and field. In addition to his studies and sports, he was president of his senior class and of the men's dorm. Even though he was active in sports and in extracurricular activities, he mentioned that living away from home was difficult and required adjustments. He said, "Learning to live without your immediate family at an early age was an everyday challenge. No mom and dad to help guide you through your early and sensitive years in life. Dorm moms, teaching staff, and other campus caretakers became my mentors."

After graduating from Sheldon Jackson, David left Sitka and studied for one year at Arizona State College (Northern Arizona University) and then one year at Everett Junior College in Washington before joining the United States Air Force in 1965. From 1965 to 1971, during the Vietnam Era, he was stationed in California and Germany. In Germany David was active in Combat Defensive Techniques and learned how to ski. While stationed at Mather Air Force Base in Sacramento, he served as a bodyguard on special occasions for Governor Ronald Reagan, the future 40<sup>th</sup> President of the United States. David was not the only one in his family to serve his country. During World War II and the war on the Aleutian Islands, his dad served in the Army Transport Service as a captain on an ocean- going tugboat and may have been instrumental in the sinking of a Japanese sub off of Unalaska Island and rescuing two Patrol Bomber Y (PBY) pilots off Kegeon Point in the Alaska Peninsula.

David remembers his dad, Alvin Osterback, affectionately. "He was an amazing man," says David of his late father. Along with his service in the Army, Alvin Sr. was also a devoted husband, father, grandfather, and great grandfather. Alvin was born on Wosensenski Island in 1915. He was a commercial fisherman, ship's carpenter, house carpenter, amateur dentist, and

amateur radio operator. He also spent several years as a representative in the Alaska State Legislature during the 1970s and 1980s.

The Osterback family - David's father, mother and brother - were all very active in politics, advocacy roles, and policy work in Alaska and the Aleut region. David's father and mother received the first ever GED certificates while serving in the Alaska State Legislature. David's mother, Marie, served on several federal, state and local community health boards including the Alaska Native Health Service. David's brother, Alvin Dwain, is a commercial fisherman, participated on the Aleutians East Borough Assembly and was elected as the Aleutians East Borough mayor in 2017. Alvin Dwain has been involved in the fishery politics with the Sand Point Fish and Game Advisory committee, both as a member and chairman, and spent several years as Port Director for the Unalaska/Dutch Harbor city.

David has also been involved in multiple capacities of service through the years. His career has spanned from 1970- present, and during this time he has served on a variety of boards and commissions. He served on the Shumagin Corporation Board of Directors and was President of the Aleut League, a member of the local Sand Point Advisory School Board, a member of the Sand Point City Council, Chairman of the Sand Point Fish and Game Advisory Committee, President of the Peninsula Marketing Association, Chairman of the Aleutians East Borough Regional Planning Team, a member of the Alaska Seafood Marketing Institute, Executive Director of the Aleutians East Seafood Marketing Consortium, a tribal member and President of the Qagan Tayagungin Tribe, Chairman of the Aleutian Pribilof Island Association BOD, and a member of Governor Hickel and Governor Sheffield's Transition Teams.

One of the many important accomplishments that David remembers well were two trips he made to Europe and Scandinavian countries promoting Alaska seafood. He shared his

insights from that trip - “quality of fish allows for quantities of fish to be sold successfully” and achieving the highest price for fish is possible by convincing the customer to always come back because of high quality.

Another of David’s accomplishments is raising his children and grandchildren. David met Susie in California during his time in the Air Force. David talked about the first time in 1970 when he brought his California bride home to Sand Point. The weather was very bad, so they had to land in Cold Bay and take his father’s crab boat to Sand Point. They faced headwinds for 18 hours in 50 miles per hour northeast winds. The trip was the first Alaska adventure for his new wife and one she has never forgotten. She loves Alaska with a passion especially Sand Point, which she and David call home. He speaks fondly of his wife, four children, and six grandchildren.

Over the years, David O. has owned four commercial fishing boats. He has owned his current boat, the F/V *Pacific Maid*, a 58-foot wood purse seiner, since 1988. He has been seining for salmon and herring, pot fishing for king, tanner, and pacific cod, and long-lining for halibut in the Shumagin Islands, Alaska Peninsula/Aleutian Island or Area “M,” Gulf of Alaska, Bering Sea, and Togiak since 1955 for Peter Pan, Bering Pacific, Pan Alaska, Wakefield, Pelican, and Trident Seafoods. David spent 40 years on the Sand Point Fish and Game Advisory Council and 20 years as chairman, attending meetings, writing fish proposals, and responding to regulations that directly affect the fisheries, fishermen, and the communities of the Eastern Aleutians Borough. He describes being chairman of the Sand Point Fish and Game Advisory Committee and a fisherman in a small community that participates in a highly contested fishery with the Board of Fish, “pure fishery politics” at its best and appreciates being part of the process.

Throughout the years of fishing, David has continued to hunt and participate in subsistence activities. In the Eastern Aleutians subsistence and commercial fishing are done simultaneously.

#### **4.3 Building the Domain - Themes in Aleut Leadership**

As mentioned above, a variety of research methods have been used to illustrate some of the cultural domains of the people of the Aleutians in this research. Prior to beginning my dissertation research, I was also part of another research project that helped to lay the foundation of my understanding of these domains. The Belkofski Oral History Project was some of the original ethnographic research I was able to conduct after I finished my master's program at Idaho State University. The firsthand knowledge I gained, coupled with my inherent knowledge of our communities helped to identify several important cultural domains of the people of the Eastern Aleutians important for this dissertation work. Weller and Romney (1998) stated that domains are the organized set of concepts and words that jointly refer to a single conceptual sphere. This research project and the oral history work I have been involved in in the Eastern Aleutians has allowed me to compile concepts that are culturally relevant and present them in ways they are used currently within the communities.

In 2007, I was part of an oral history project funded by the Native Village of Belkofski. I was tasked with conducting interviews and presenting them in a video format. As a graduate student who had just finished my master's degree course work, I accepted the job and moved to Anchorage to begin the interviews with elders and people who remembered living in the village. In total we interviewed 22 people in 30 different interview settings – formal, informal, in groups and actively participating and documenting activities. In total, there was a total of over 30 hours of footage. The information I received allowed me to participate as a director and narrator of a 1

hour- and- 15- minute documentary, *Belkofski Stories Tax^tamum Tunusangin*, that premiered in King Cove in 2016 and was released on video in 2018. That effort combined with the interviews and surveys conducted as part of the project enabled me to identify some culturally relevant and recurring themes that have arisen through these processes.

As a researcher in my own community, some conversations directly contributed to my decisions to frame the conversations into the domains of subsistence, advocacy and traditional knowledge. They are all interrelated parts of the community. Growing up, there is always a focus on hunting, gathering and putting up fish. This is reflected in the saying, when the tide is out the table is set. One respondent discussed how what they have done for subsistence has remained the same overtime. Also, it was common that people mentioned subsistence foods making up almost half or more of their diets. In the key informant interviews, one informant discussed the importance of learning from his family and also that part of traditional knowledge was passing along the information needed to know the good from the bad. This knowledge of hunting and fishing practices are not mutually exclusive to commercial or subsistence and since they are also interrelated, I thought it was natural to look at things from a perspective of advocacy along with the subsistence practices and traditional knowledge. “I think that’s important, is that you become at least familiar with the process, because the investment that you have to make is tremendous,” said an interviewee about what was important about natural resources and the regulation of those resources.

Subsistence, traditional knowledge, and advocacy play a role in the everyday life of people in the Aleutians. As mentioned previously, people have lived in the Aleutians for millennia, utilizing the land and the sea for food, shelter, clothing, and spiritual guidance. The land and sea provide for the lifeways that are the cornerstone of Aleut culture. Subsistence to

the Aleut people is more than the word. It is the basis for the culture and the tools needed to survive in the region. In the Aleut world, knowing the tides, the migration patterns, and the preservation mechanisms of food have led the Aleuts to be successful in their environment. For example, weather plays an integral role in life in the Aleutians. Winds in the winter can exceed a hundred miles an hour; the tides rise and fall daily, exposing reefs filled with edible foodstuff and indicating the movement of fish and marine life.

#### **4.3.1 Subsistence - When the Tide is Out, the Table is Set**

The Unangan people have inhabited the western tip of the Alaska Peninsula and the entirety of the Aleutian Islands for thousands of years. During that time, they have been an integral part of the social- ecological system (SES). As described by others (Chapin et al. 2009, Berkes et al. 2003, Turner et al. 2003), the social- ecological system of the Aleut people encompasses the environment, the people, plants, animals, and the degree to which they were used contributed to the Aleut society. In historical times the social- ecological system included the ways that the people hunted, fished, and participated in subsistence activities. Black (1999) mentioned the importance of the variation in local subsistence patterns. The food systems that people remembered being in place in Belkofski are still part of this SES today.

The word subsistence is defined as means to support life. The Aleut people have subsisted and flourished in the Aleutians for thousands of years. They did this by adapting and using what was on hand. A common saying in the Aleutians is, “when the tide is out, the table is set.” Many Aleut villages were adjacent to salmon streams and also to reefs, which provided the people with nourishment.

From a very young age, the Aleut people have been taught to go out and to harvest from the land. In her dissertation research in 2004, Reedy recognized that children learn how to clean,

butcher, and process fish and game at a very early age (2004:128). While working on the Belkofski Oral History Project, I found this to be evident. The people in Belkofski hunted for caribou, ducks, geese, seals, and more. They also gathered plants, berries, and foods off the reef to survive. During the interviews for the Belkofski Oral History Project, I asked people about hunting and fishing. The following is part of the story as it was pieced together for the film. Aleut people who grew up hunting and fishing in Belkofski and the surrounding areas had this to share:

**Simeon**

We used to hunt geese. We called them qamgaanig<sup>ix</sup>.

**Leff**

Any duck was edible, you know, we—we went out and got it.

**Claude**

Oh me, I used to hunt all the time. I hunted forever, ever since I was like 9 years old, I had a single shot 16 gauge. I used to walk forever, up either side of the beach just to try to get a rock duck, or anything. So I could shoot, you know. And I went hunting every day that my parents would let me. Every day.

**Sam K. (00:46:14)**

Papa bought me my first shotgun when I was 9. The only recreation I really had was to hunt.

**Claude**

As long as I had one shell I'd go out and try to get a duck. Every day.

**Nick**

I was only 6 or 7 when I first went out with my dad, and my uncles, and my grandpa and carried caribou home. Granted, it was only a quarter of a caribou, but I started that young. And then I started doing it on my own. At about 12 years old, dad gave me my first gun, which was a 12 gauge. And I started, basically from then, hunting by myself unless we went on our hunting trips, our annual hunting trips.

**Irene**

Always go hunting. I went hunting geese and ptarmigan and mallards with my stepdad, Leff. And he used to hunt those whistlers—those little snipe birds, we'd get them by the lighthouse in Belkofski. And that was my best hunting, was snipes with my dad.

These excerpts demonstrate that Aleut people took part in providing for their families starting at a very young age. The entire household was responsible for getting food. Family members hunted, and they ate what they hunted the next day. Luckily, the people of Belkofski also had a reef to utilize. One interviewee said, “We had a big beautiful reef. The adults wouldn’t think anything of giving us a knife and bucket and telling us to fill the buckets!” People would eat black Katy chitons (*Katharina tunicate*, *bidarkis*), kelp, mollusks, and octopus (*Enteroctopus dofleini*, *umgux*). Along with teaching children how to survive, the adults were simultaneously teaching them respect for the land and the animals and also teaching the children about responsibility and resource management. They were taught to take only what they needed and everything would be used with nothing going to waste.

When hunting the octopus, adults were also teaching young children the behaviors and habitats of the octopus. To find an octopus to catch to eat, a person has to look for a rock that is larger in size. Once the rock is found, a person then has to look for an entrance on either side. There has to be two entrances. Outside the entrances would be a pile of shells, indicative of an octopus having eaten there. In more current times, a person uses a wire hanger to make a hook on one end and the other part tied onto a piece of wood. Octopus is still eaten quite a lot in the Eastern Aleutians. At the 2017 Urban Unangax Culture Camp, the traditional foods instructors brought in a fresh octopus, *umgux*, and showed the kids how to clean and prepare it. Growing up, I distinctly remember taking the beak of the octopus to school for show and tell as well as seeing octopus trying to crawl out of the sink on numerous occasions.

Octopus and *bidarkis*, or black Katy chitons, are still present in the diet today for many people, and Aleut people today still rely heavily on subsistence. In the survey administered for my dissertation, which is described in further detail in chapter 5, I asked respondents to tell me



how much they still rely on subsistence. The data gathered from their self- reporting indicated that subsistence foods make up about 44% of the average diet. Several of the people reported a dramatic drop in the amount of subsistence food they consume, but most reports were fairly consistent, with reported increases in consumption, leading to the conclusion that similar amounts of time and effort spent hunting and fishing in the past is still happening today. The techniques and the survival skills are, to a certain extent, are still being practiced and passed on. More importantly, subsistence practices still play a role in the everyday life of the Aleut people, and they base their livelihoods and their cultural practices on a subsistence lifestyle. This will be discussed in depth in chapter 5.

#### **4.3.2 Traditional Knowledge**

The State of Alaska is 663,268 square miles in area and contains 355 incorporated cities, and 229 Federally recognized Tribes (State of Alaska 2017). Many of these communities are inaccessible by road. These seemingly isolated communities have been present on the landscape for millennia and are inhabited by people with inherent knowledge of the environmental resources and gathering and harvesting practices. During my research, I spoke with people who have lived their entire lives in those communities. They were familiar with the environment in a holistic way and were able to describe in detail the unique characteristics of the resources and effective hunting and gathering practices. Their understanding of the landscape, navigation, wind, and tides contributes to the well- being of their family and community by being able to provide for everyone, both nutritionally and financially.

One fisherman told me about how to look for fish, specifically salmon. He explained that a person must watch in the rips, which are the colored bands in the water that show where the tide is running, and one would be able to see the fish inside them. Seeing the rips at a certain

time indicates where the fish are and where to set the net. Also, knowing which way the tide is running and how the ocean is moving will dictate how and when to set the net. The explanation may seem simplistic, but it illustrates an understanding of the water columns that shows an understanding of oceanography and movement in the water (e.g., TEK); they have an intimate connection to the landscape developed over thousands of years and passing down this knowledge to family and community to ensure their future survival. Understanding the bathymetry of the ocean floor and how that not only affects the net but also the behavior of the fish is important. It shows an understanding of the identification of species from the one another and also the composition of the stocks of fish being targeted.

Specific knowledge and words are used to describe the environment, which is evident in the findings of my dissertation. Elders discussed knowledge about the landscape and how they used the environment to assist them in gathering the food and resources they needed for their families:

**Claude Kuzakin**

There are what we call taliguyax<sup>^</sup>s which means there's holes in the ground that runs to a creek. It all connect—all over the place, and those things would fill up with trout, and we'd take a scoop—take it and push it down, and somebody would start plunging over there, plunging them, fill that sock up, bring it up, full of trout. Just fill gunnysacks full of them.

The Aleut people also understand the behaviors of the birds and the migration of the marine animals. They know the best way to harvest and how that translated into travel and preparation for their journeys. They discussed the extensive travel that was done to harvest and to provide:

**Simeon**

Ag<sup>^</sup>diikan is ptarmigan, and we hunt them all winter. They're real good birds to eat. In the May month we used to go out to the islands and get them little birds at night. We call them chickanees. In Aleut we call them qidangax<sup>^</sup>.

**Sam K.**

They're little birds that come in at night and lay eggs in the ground. We used to call them qidangax^s and chickanees. We used to get them.

**Claude**

It's just still. Just like this. Still. You could hear yourself breathe in the springtime cause there's not hardly any seagulls around, or anything. And soon as it gets dark, it sounds like a zoo. There were so many birds out there taking and flying around the island just constantly. Ring their neck or bite them in the head. They say you bite them in the head, that's fastest. That's the way you used to do it. Killed them instantly.

The anecdotes about the interactions with the environment illustrate the vast knowledge that people have that was passed down to them, knowledge that they were encouraged to learn and live by. The narratives showcase aspects of science that are talked about in specificity, in ways understandable in context. Words were used for different types of waterways, for animals, plants, weather, and the ways these affected each other. All of this information was passed along from one generation to the next, while incorporating technologies as they became available and accessible to the Aleut people. What is critical to the survival of the Aleut people, and the continued transmission of the TEK, is to ensure Aleut people know how to successfully advocate for policies, regulations, laws that govern their access and use of these subsistence resources from the landscape. The next section will expand upon this discussion.

**4.3.3 Advocacy**

Alaska has multiple layers of governance that grant and restrict access to resources in the state. As the power and infrastructure has shifted, so, too, has the way Aleuts interact with the landscape. The so-called discovery of Alaska followed by its purchase by the United States initiated the start of many regulatory processes still in place today.

The Aleut people have had to play an active role in the conversations and decision-making processes that happen in the state. Participating in these conversations begins early for some Aleut people, but the range of first exposure to these topics varies by family and

community. Many people have stories about taking their children to meetings in Anchorage, and because no childcare was available, the children attended the meetings. My experience has been that once a person becomes involved, that person is encouraged to stay involved. With such a small population, people encourage anyone showing an interest in learning and participating in the regional, statewide, national and international conversations to continue to work and develop the skills and relationships that will allow people to continue living in the region. Many people have a long history of advocacy.

David Osterback, Sr., whose story was told earlier, is an example of someone who has dedicated their life to advocacy. He was recognized by the State of Alaska in 2017 for his contributions and his participation on the Sand Point Advisory Council and was awarded one of the Advisory Committee Excellence in Service Awards. One of the things David was recognized for was “his ability to mediate difficult issues among the three commercial gear types (set, drift, and seine) in the area, offering a humble and modest demeanor which has led to his successful representation of the advisory committee’s recommendations before the Board.”

Along with his long history advocating for fisheries, David was also instrumental in assisting with the school boards in the 1970s. He noted, that besides his wife, he has only had one boss. After returning from the Air Force, he was recruited by the Superintendent of the Alaska State Operated Schools System in 1972 to be the Director of Rural Advisory School Boards, which provided training activities to 247 rural advisory school boards.

This is one example and there are many others. In general, being involved in these processes are recognized as an important part of being able to continue cultural practices. One fisherman told me, “that’s not my job, that’s your job, I just fish,” when talking about attending meetings about fisheries and speaking up for our fisheries. Much like the snowball survey, I

think there are several people who are looked to to participate in these types of meetings. Partially, I think people might be intimidated by the laws and the multiple layers of governance present. One interviewee talked about knowing about laws and being able to teach people about them, “Because they’re so complex, I mean, we have things coming in from the state, things coming in from the feds, we could have local management, some of the tribes do manage their own lands, there are so many different aspects that we just need to have people that are kind of current and educating everybody else.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the leadership style and the domains of contemporary Aleut communities, and the intimate relationship Aleut people have with the landscape and the critical role Aleuts have played and need to continue to play in advocacy and ensuring future generations possess the same TEK and bring their voices to the table when policies, regulations, and laws are updated or written that will directly impact the Aleut peoples continued relationship to the landscape. I wanted to showcase these components to highlight the ways in which the landscape, the people, and the governance structures converge and each domain is equally important and needs to be represented at all stages of advocacy and passing the TEK and instill their commitment to learn how effective advocate for access and use of their natural resources by the younger generations. The people who live in these Aleut communities have a vast knowledge, respect, understanding, and history that dates back thousands of years; this knowledge needs to be passed on and woven into the language of State policies and regulations to ensure the cultural survival of the Aleut people. They also have an active role in shaping the future and the access to resources in the Eastern Aleutians. Political ecology looks at forms of access and control that define spaces used to continue cultural practices. The Aleut people in the

Eastern Aleutians are very much involved in political ecology; they have been teaching their children how and where to interact with the environment for generations. They have also been active participants in the dialogue that allows them to continue their cultural practices that tie them to the land and the sea.

As noted, people are actively teaching and encouraging the younger generations how to hunt and fish. On a trip to King Cove in 2017, someone told me, “I am so happy young people are still interested in fishing. Where would we be without the fishermen?” Leaders, elders, and community members are doing what they can to foster the interests needed to keep people involved in conversations about the regulatory processes that determine where hunting and fishing can take place. One of the cornerstones of the Aleut culture, and arguably many other cultures, is their dependence on the resources available outside their doors, not only for ease of access, but for the nutritional value and positive benefits these foods have on their physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing. Even today, people take their young children out to be on the landscape and harvest the things as they have done in the past. The challenge is that sometimes a conflict exists between the ideas about how people have and should live on the landscape and the regulatory and management perspective. Places that had been accessed without regulation are off limits without certain permissions and paperwork. Sometimes, the red tape is a deterrent for people. As minute as the situation may appear today, multiplied and fast forwarded, that situation could very well be disconnecting the past from the future in terms of cultural ties to the landscape that define the Aleut people.

The examples above show that power does play a role in the way that Alaska Natives, and Aleuts in particular, participate in their subsistence and commercial activities that sustain their communities. At the beginning of my dissertation, I set out to look at the ways political

ecology played a role in the interactions with the landscape. This led to many conversations about how people participate in traditional cultural activities and, more importantly, how many people are still actively working to maintain their access to the accessible resources that have sustained the Aleut culture from time immemorial. Traditional ecological knowledge is built upon thousands of years of living in the Aleutians and when coupled with the direct efforts of the community to build bridges of understanding between Indigenous and Western forms of resource management, the Aleut people are able to stay where they are and remain resilient.

I highlighted two people and several stories from elders in this chapter, but I want to stress that the communities are filled with knowledgeable and actively engaged people. Many people in the Eastern Aleutians have taken active roles to represent their communities at multiple levels of governance. They have built reputations and a presence that keep the communities functioning and growing. The Aleut people have learned to play a valuable role in the political dimensions of the regulatory process that keep their communities and cultures alive.

## **Chapter 5 - A Survey of Aleut Leaders**

### **5.1 Aleut Leaders Survey**

This dissertation answered these three questions: 1. What do Native Aleut leaders know about the laws that affect fisheries, land ownership and local access to natural resources in the Eastern Aleutians? 2. How does this knowledge relate to participation in subsistence and political activities that sustain the rights to hunt and fish and practice cultural activities such as eating traditional foods? 3. Is there a correlation between subsistence efforts and policy changes over time?

The majority of my own knowledge about the topics came from formal educational courses taught in a university setting. In my experience, the topics were presented with facts and I was then tested on those facts and given assignments that solidified my knowledge of the course or topic content. When I talked to key informants selected by their peers to help develop my survey, I quickly realized that peoples' working knowledge about various topics is not always the same as what is learned in a formal educational setting. The information my key informants held was not always consistent with actual laws and regulations. For example, one person when asked about the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, simply said, "...well the lawyers did all that. That's over and done with." While another key informant mostly mentioned his disdain for the regulations without providing specific information about the content of the regulations discussed.

Thus, my approach, as well as many of my questions, were not necessarily supported by the people who were selected to serve as key informants for the survey development. What had begun in my mind as a knowledge test became an inquiry about the topics and how they are important to communities. This chapter summarizes the findings of that survey. The total



number of respondents was 21, however not every person answered every question, so the numbers vary.

The survey consisted of four different sections (A-D). The first section looked at the members of an individual's family who was, or is, currently on a board or a tribal council. The second section asked about subsistence practices, the third section asked about a set of particular focus issues (ANCSA, ANILCA, Limited Entry Permit System, Land Rights, Blood Quantum, Local Environment, Aleut Culture, Subsistence Rules and Regulations and Aleut Language) and the final section asked about demographics. I will present the demographic information first and then summarize other findings.

## **5.2 Demographic Information**

I included all the tribes and corporations in King Cove, Sand Point and the regional for-profit and non-profit organizations. When the regional for-profit and non-profit organization seats are considered, there was a total of 84 seats and thus a total of 84 potential participants<sup>9</sup>. This includes 36 seats in Sand Point, 16 seats in King Cove, and 22 seats that are held at the regional level. However, because of multiple seat holders, and myself, there were 64 individuals in my potential survey population.

I received a response from 21 individuals – a survey return rate of approximately 33%. In the responses, the survey answers varied, as to how many people answered which questions. The 21 respondents ranged in age from 23 to 77. The mean age of the respondents was 56. There were 12 males (57%) and 9 females (43%) who responded to the survey. Of the respondents, 71% have held seats on boards prior to the survey. Additionally, 80% of the respondents have had family members participate in board activities in the past.

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<sup>9</sup> In 2013, I was elected onto the King Cove Corporation Board of Directors.

The populations of King Cove and Sand Point are 989 and 1,055, respectively (U.S. Census 2010). All respondents of the survey, except one who did not answer the question, answered that they were enrolled in a Federally Recognized Tribe and all were shareholders in ANCSA Corporations. This was to be expected as they were the targeted population for this survey. All but one of the respondents had at least one child. Further, all but five had at least one grandchild.

Over half (52%) of the respondents were commercial fishermen at the time of the survey. In the Aleut region, the term fisherman is used interchangeably. It is common for both men and women to be called fisherman. For the respondents from King Cove and Sand Point specifically, there were 9 of 15 respondents who were fisherman (60%). Because of the anonymity of the respondents, I cannot elaborate on the types of other occupations.

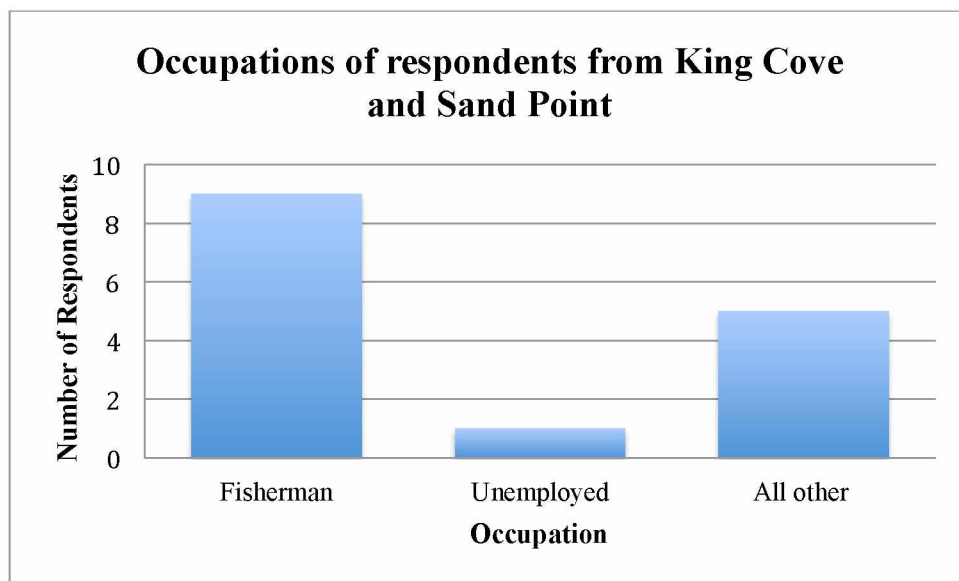


Figure 9: Occupations of Respondents from King Cove and Sand Point

The average age of the fishermen from King Cove and Sand Point was 62 years old. Twenty of the 21 respondents (95%) had graduated from high school, one finished junior high school. Ten of the respondents had attended some college, two had gone to vocational school after high school and two had a bachelor's degree.

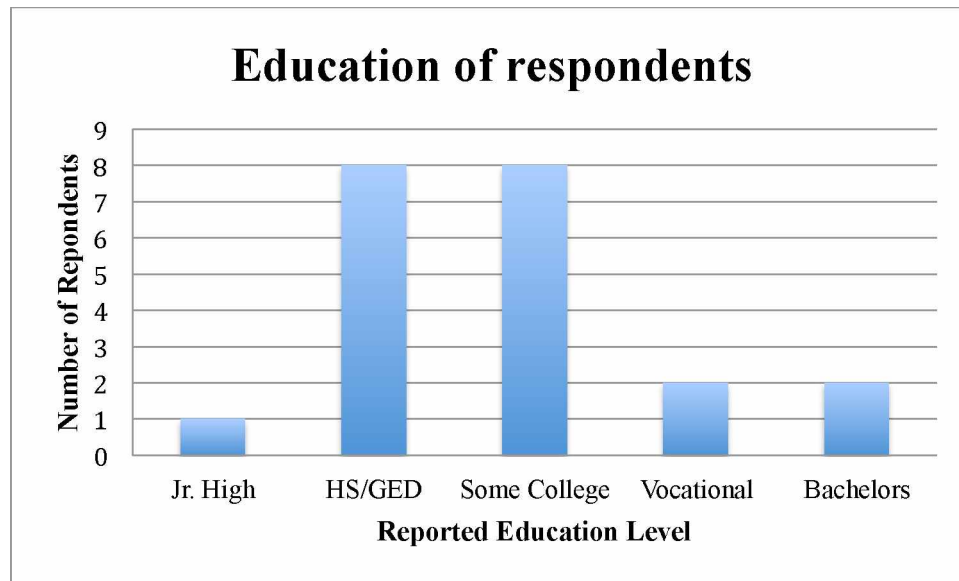


Figure 10: Education of Respondents

### 5.3 Family Connections

The section was used to illustrate and understand whether people who were involved in board or council work had a history of being on boards and how engaged they were. This section also tried to gauge the level of active participation of the person being surveyed.

I started by asking if the individual had been previously or were currently on a board, how many years they participated and whether they were an elected officer. Next, I asked them if any of their family members were currently on a board or if anyone in their families had previously participated on a board.

I gave each of the participants examples of places their family members may have previously or currently be participating on. These included the Tribal Council, Corporation

Board of Directors, Assembly/City Council, Advisory Council, Other. By default, everyone who completed a survey was currently on a board; however, I asked this question because of the multiple seats that are held by some people. In the case of the survey population, seven respondents were only on one board, five respondents were on two boards, three were on three boards, four served on four boards and two were on five different kinds of boards. Thus, of the people interviewed, 66% served on two or more boards. Forty three percent of respondents currently were sitting on three or more boards. Boards ranged from fisherman's associations, church councils, museum boards, health and gaming boards, city councils, borough assemblies, and others.

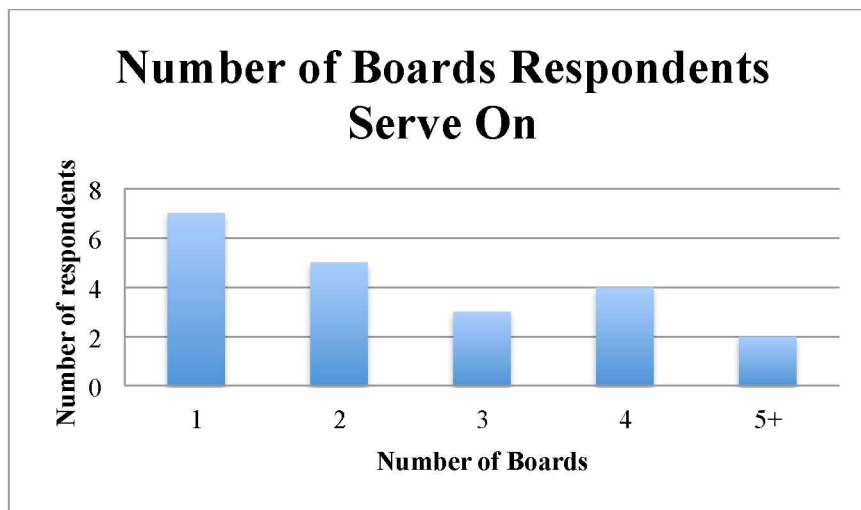


Figure 11: Number of Boards Respondents Serve On

I asked survey respondents to answer if they had participated on the boards listed in the past or any other boards not listed. Nineteen out of 21 respondents (90.5%) of respondents had sat on at least one other board in the past with many of them serving on multiple boards in an

array of different areas, including planning commissions, women's clubs, school boards, boroughs and fishing and hunting boards at state, federal and international levels.

I asked the respondents to estimate how many years they had been on each board and how long they had served on each previous board. Not all respondents were able to answer the number of years they participated on each board. The total combined time for all respondents who estimated all years of service and lengths of service is approximately 939 years served on boards. Or on average about 49 years if they had been split up evenly. This is probably a low estimate; given that some of the longer serving members did not answer each of the questions. This is obviously an astronomical number, but this is the number of years added for each respondent, each board and each year starting approximately 40 or more years ago in some cases.

### **5.3.1 Family Serving on a Board**

Forty eight percent of the survey respondents had family members that were currently serving on another type of board. Seventeen respondents (81% of the respondents who answered this question) had family members who had participated on at least one board in the past. Respondents were asked about which kind of board and how involved they thought each family member was while serving. The Likert scale ranged from 1- 5. (1=Never, 2=Almost Never, 3=Sometimes, 4=Almost Always, 5=Always, DK=Don't know.) For all categories, on average, people rated their family members who were serving on boards currently to be Almost Always or Always involved – stating that they attended meetings. The grandmothers and grandfather category was the only exception. This likely has to do with the age of those people who are serving on our boards, many peoples grandparents are no longer with us, and or have long since stopped serving on boards.

### **5.3.2 Limitations of Family Connections Section**

Even though the survey was pre- tested, there were missing questions noted in the execution of the survey during the research period. For example, in the section where I asked about family member participation and past participation, I overlooked including children as an option of who was participating on a board. Given that the median age of the respondents was 57, it is probable that some individuals also have children who are involved and currently participating or have participated in the past. Further as mentioned above, there were categories such as grandparents that were not necessarily useful because of the age of the survey respondents. From my own knowledge of the communities, even many of the “younger” people on the boards do not have grandparents who are still actively involved in this type of work.

### **5.4 Subsistence Practices**

Subsistence is an integral part of the Aleutian culture and sustains the well- being of individuals, families and communities. To this day, time is spent in all seasons collecting and preserving food for later consumption and sharing. One of my research questions sought to address whether or not an individual’s subsistence habits have changed over time. The survey respondents indicated that over time, the amount of subsistence foods and goods they harvest has declined; however, the amount of subsistence products harvested still averages about 50% of all foods for respondents. This same trend was also present in the amount of subsistence that people reported about a family member's use of subsistence over time. I detail this below.

## Decades of Family Subsistence Use

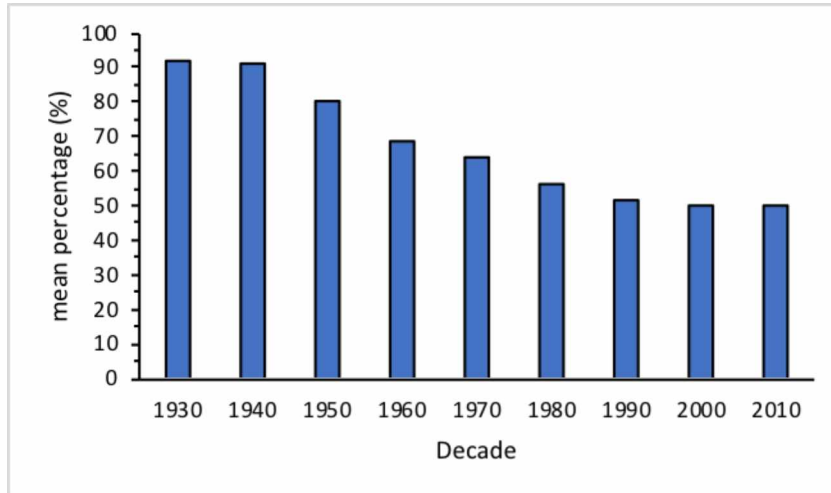


Figure 12: Mean Family Subsistence Use Estimated by decade by 21 Survey Respondents from 1930 to 2010

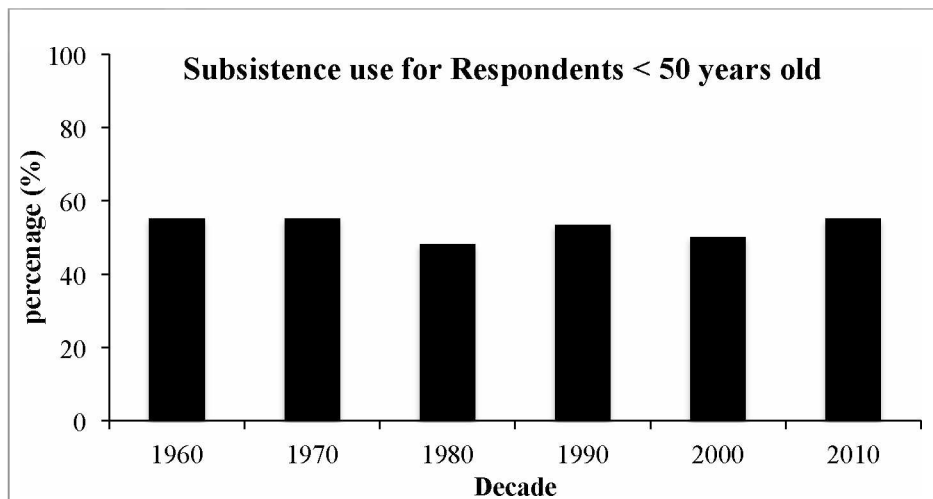


Figure 13: Subsistence Use for Respondents Under 50

When you compare the difference in age groups for self-reported subsistence use, there is a difference between the user groups who began reporting in the 1950s and after (55 and under) and the group that over 55. Most users (13 of 20 respondents) report a decrease in the

amount of food that comes from hunting, fishing and gathering. However, the older group reports a greater drop in this amount. The drop is approximately 37% for the older group; where the younger group reports only a difference over time of about 9%. When I asked one elder about subsistence and how hunting changed during the survey development interviews he said that the opportunity has changed since when he was younger and he spends much of his time fishing (personal communication July 2016). The younger group can be split into two groups – when all of the people who are 50 years and younger report subsistence use over time they report a steady use of food coming from subsistence. However – the respondents who are younger than 40 years old actually report an increase in the amount of foods that come from subsistence (from 50% to 60%). I theorize that the younger group has grown up living where the base of their diets have been constantly supplemented by subsistence and as they are getting older they are harvesting more and more, especially as they start providing for families and aging parents. Further, I think that loss of mobility in the older generation, and people moving from villages into larger cities (e.g., to be closer to medical services) can help to explain some of the more dramatic changes in the subsistence diets of the older respondents to this survey.



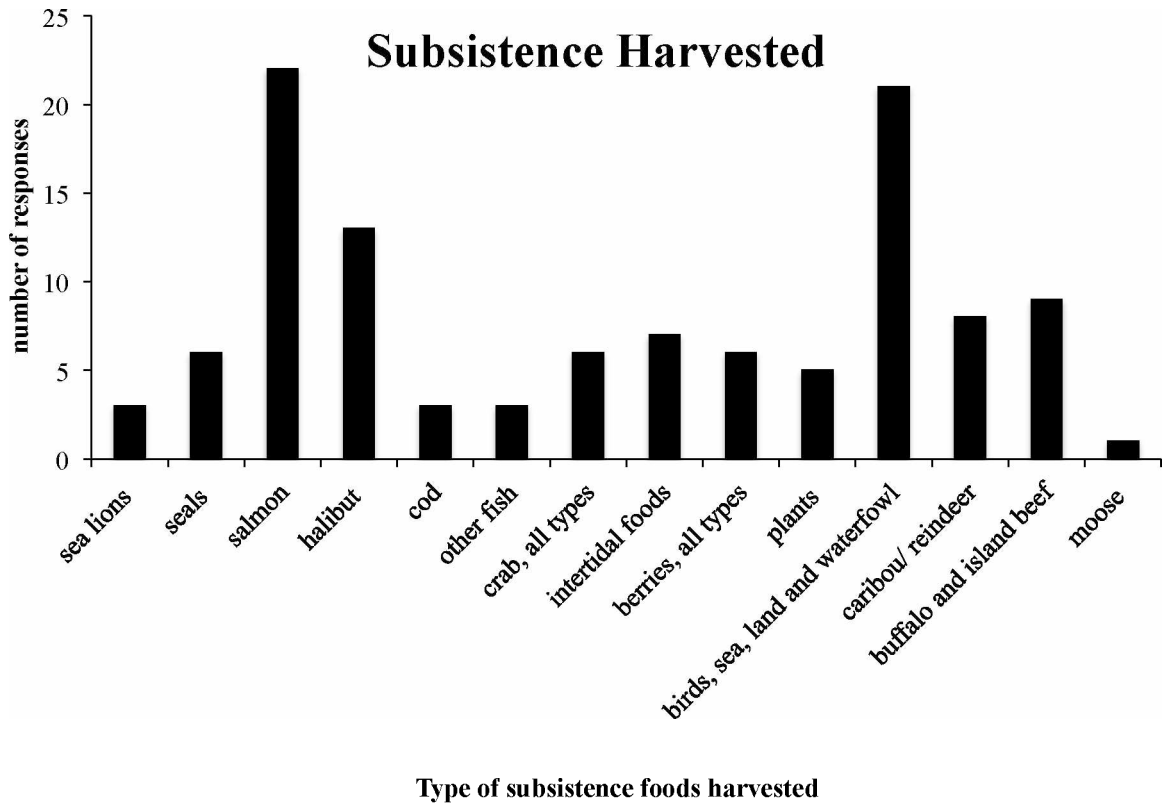


Figure 14: Subsistence Foods Harvested

Seafood (e.g., fish, marine mammals) was the biggest portion of reported subsistence foods harvested by respondents. Salmon (multiple species) made up the bulk of subsistence diets, followed by halibut, then marine mammals such as seal and sea lion. Respondents also reported the harvest and collection of large land animals such as caribou, buffalo and wild beef. Tidal foods, plants and berries were also a large part of the respondents' diets. These results are in line with information that was collected for the Belkofski Project (Mack 2018) and subsistence data collected in the region for previous research.

## 5.5 Knowledge of Issues

One of the main focuses of this research was to understand how and what people were learning about natural resource management practices. In order to assess this, I had the respondents report on where they had learned about the topics that were the focus of the survey.

This included the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA), Limited Entry permit system, land rights, blood quantum, local environment, Aleut culture, subsistence rules and regulations, Aleut language, state and subsistence rules and regulations, and federal subsistence rules and regulations.

The following table represents the answers that people gave about where they were learning about these topics; 18 people filled out the table. The green indicates that 9 or more people answered yes to having learned about the topic at that venue. The yellow indicates between 5- 8 people answered that they had learned about the topic at that venue and the red indicates that 4 or less people said that they learned about the topic at that venue. None of the topics listed showed that many people were learning about these topics in school. Learning about issues “in the community” or “in a meeting” is where most people were learning about the issues.

**Table 2: Where People Learn**

	From Family	In the Community	In School or Class	On the Job	In a Meeting	From Television or Radio	From the Internet	I would like to know more about this topic
1. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act	5	8	8	6	11	6	3	11
2. Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act	6	5	8	6	9	3	2	12
3. Limited Entry Permit System	10	11	1	3	5	2	2	7
4. Land Rights	4	6	5	4	10	2	3	11
5. Blood Quantum	9	5	1	6	6	2	3	9
6. State Subsistence Rules and Regs.	7	11	2	6	8	4	5	8
7. Federal Subsistence Rules and Regs.	6	10	2	5	8	4	5	8
8. Local Environment	10	11	3	8	11	4	5	11

This table shows a lot of good information about how people are learning things. The limitations of it however, should also be discussed. As mentioned the average age of the survey respondents was 56 years old. Because of this it is difficult to infer what is being covered in the school system. Many of the respondents would have gone to school way before now. It does, however, speak to the importance of the information being handed down intergenerationally because that is how people are getting information. It is also important to note that many people are learning about these issues from meetings. As a board member myself and a former tribal council member, I can say that attending meetings is a great way to learn about the issues that

are central to our communities and our duties as board members. The collective information held by board members tends to be about how our cultures function within our communities and we learn from outside professionals about how the specifics of these laws and regulations.

The table above also speaks to challenges that many rural communities in Alaska faces, which is poor connectivity. I would venture to say that many board members do not have time to wait for the internet to load to search topics like the ones that were asked about in the survey. Usually the schools are where people go to use the internet. For example, in Sand Point on any given evening you will see many people sitting outside of the school using their wifi to connect to check emails and social media.

One person during a follow up interview talked about learning and education that is could be helpful and pointed out, much like the research shows that these topics are not being covered in the schools:

I feel like we need to be better at educating our youth on these things, because once you get up to being in leadership in the tribes and the corporations, I look at my own tribe and corporation, and I think the people there have a pretty good understanding of how things function, but we have this whole generation of youth coming up who don't really know the lay of the land, and where are they going to learn that? Are they going to learn that from their parents, from their grandparents? We're not teaching it in school right now, and I've been a big proponent of let's localize our education, voice- based education, what is going to be beneficial for our kids when they graduate.

On average, survey respondents rated themselves as “familiar” with ANCSA, Limited Entry permit system, blood quantum, the local environment and Aleut culture. Respondents rated themselves “somewhat familiar” with ANILCA, land rights and subsistence rules and regulations. Respondents rated themselves “not too familiar” with the Aleut language. (Scale list: 1=Unfamiliar, 2=Not to familiar, 3=Somewhat familiar, 4=familiar, 5=very familiar, 0=no answer). For all questions regarding familiarity, men rated themselves higher than women.

I asked how important it was for Aleut Leaders to know about the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA), Limited Entry permit system, land rights, blood quantum, subsistence rules and regulations, the local environment (1- Not important at all, 2- slightly important, 3- somewhat important, 4- very important, 5 - extremely important, 0=no answer). A large majority of respondents rated each of these topics very important to extremely important to know about. The respondent assessments were ANCSA: 57% very important, 33% extremely important; ANILCA: 63% very important, 32% extremely important; Limited Entry permit system: 47% very important, 32% extremely important; land rights: 47% very important, 42% extremely important, blood quantum: 42% very important, 32% extremely important; subsistence rules and regulations: 53% very important, 42% extremely important; the local environment: 42% very important, 47% extremely important. Therefore, this research shows that Aleut leaders are aware and recognize the fact that these topics are important to know about.

Similarly, I asked how familiar they thought younger leaders (people under 40 or new to sitting on boards) are with the same topics: Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA), Limited Entry permit system, land rights, blood quantum, subsistence rules and regulations, the local environment (1- Not familiar at all, 2 - slightly familiar, 3 - somewhat familiar, 4 - very familiar, 5 - extremely familiar, 0 - no answer). The perception from the respondents was that younger leaders are mostly somewhat familiar, slightly familiar or not familiar at all with these topics that they perceive as being important. The respondents thought 37% of younger leaders were somewhat familiar with ANCSA, while 53% were only slightly familiar with the Act. They thought 37% of younger leaders were somewhat familiar with ANILCA, while 28% were only slightly familiar with the

ANILCA and also that 33% of younger leaders were not familiar at all. This same trend continued for all of the topics: Limited Entry permit system (44% somewhat familiar, 33% slightly familiar, 11% not familiar at all), land rights (33% somewhat familiar, 33% slightly familiar, 28% not familiar at all), blood quantum (33% somewhat familiar, 50% slightly familiar, 6% not familiar at all), subsistence rules and regulations (33% somewhat familiar, 22% slightly familiar, 22% not familiar at all), the local environment (44% somewhat familiar, 25% slightly familiar, 13% not familiar at all). They rated younger leaders' knowledge highest when it was about local environment.

## **5.6 Summary**

The findings that were presented in this chapter support the qualitative findings presented in the previous chapter. From the survey, we see that the Aleut people are still actively engaged in the culture and subsistence practices. They are also actively engaged in their roles in advocacy. Further, they are interested in knowing more about these topics that are integral to the decision- making process.

The survey data shows that once people are involved, they tend to stay involved and become more involved in other parts of the community. Political ecology literature discusses the premise that political processes are the drivers for environmental change and ecological conditions (Robbins 2004:11). This dissertation and survey showcase that Aleut people are actively involved with these processes and they are important actors in decision- making dialogues.

This survey also showed the perceptions about the importance of topics that have to do with natural resource management in the Aleut region as well as where they are learning about

them. It showed that there is a perception that younger leaders do not know as much about these laws as older leaders. This is something that could be addressed with future research.

Participants in the key informant interviews, who were not necessarily the same people who took the survey, not only had vast amount of knowledge concerning the topics being explored in my dissertation, but they also possessed important insight that spanned multiple knowledge systems. Many key informants were not as concerned with legislation, even though they obviously knew the history, but they were willing to share information about everything because all things are connected. One fascinating, yet not surprising, finding was the depth of knowledge each person had about an abundance of issues.

Each key informant understood the subtleties of a community and connected genuinely to the landscape. Each person knew and shared information about the ecosystem—the plants, the animals, the weather, the patterns, and the nuances only understood and known after seeing, hearing, feeling, and living in a place so dynamic that the culture and people and politics are all one thing. Such knowledgeable people are, and have been, the drivers of the success and resilience of the Aleut people through generations.

Battiste (2013) discussed that context need to come from people and their collective and the place where they are instead of the theories that are academic- based. This exercise allowed for the context to emerge from conversations and from what was already known from being a part of the community I studied. The process of developing and administering the survey was a grounding experience; I developed a new realization of the impact of formalized research at the community level. I also better understand the complexities of asking a question: how to ask it; what to ask; who to ask. As mentioned, the plan changed dramatically. However, this led to a

more robust discussion about where people are learning about the important issues that allow us to continue our cultural practices.

Hunting, fishing and gathering are the cornerstones of the Aleut culture and this was showcased in all aspects of this study. It was evident from the key informant interviews, the critical case studies, the survey results and the participant observation. Often during this research, helping to gather or preserve food was the first thing that happened prior to anyone agreeing to participate in a survey or interview.





## **Chapter 6 - Conclusions and Future Research**

### **6.1 Contributions to the Field**

This study advances the field of Indigenous Studies by illustrating the complexities of cultural continuity in the modern world. It provided a unique emic perspective concerning Native knowledge about legislation in rural Alaska and how policies translate to larger communities and the future. The present study contributed to a dialogue about how, why, and when Alaska Native leaders are engaging in policy-making activities and the effects that individual engagement has had on community and interactions with the environment. The study created a narrative about leadership the ways Aleut leaders learn about laws and approach community and policy engagement. These results contribute to the ethnographic record, globalization, political ecology, modernity, Indigenous identity, and Native ways of knowing concerning the eastern Aleutians. A narrative from the emic perspective enhances the ethnographic record. There are aspects of every culture that are living and that we take for granted. Further, the ways in which people interact with their environment affects Indigenous identity, bolsters traditional ecological knowledge and Native ways of knowing; this study illustrated the complexities involved with participating in both traditional and political activities and how they relate to one another in real-life situations. Overall, these data and lived experiences showcase a unique and dynamic system that Aleut people navigate on a daily basis. Aleut people have worked hard to bridge the past with the future and have done so with their history and their culture being the cornerstone.

The baseline information gathered during the research period has contributed to a better understanding of what Alaska Native Aleuts in the eastern Aleutians know about land claims,

fishing rights, and local access to natural and subsistence resources. These data provide a valuable framework that may be applied in other regions or within organization to do the same which will strengthen the framework that is imperative to the dialogues about Indigenous rights and access to subsistence resources. These data also contributed to Indigenous ethnography by adding a dialogue from an emic point of view. The Aleut people and all Alaska Natives are currently in a vulnerable position, as their villages shrink and populations relocate, affecting their ability to participate at the local level. Therefore, this study provided a timely and much needed discourse about the changes being felt within several Native communities throughout Alaska. This research has implications in the fields of anthropology, political ecology, and Indigenous studies.

## **6.2 Future Research**

This research could be expanded on in many ways. The population of the sample was small and directed. It would be interesting to see this survey be distributed to a larger audience using a random sample method to glean information about the public at large. I would like to see the results from both inside the original research communities as well as in other parts of the state in an attempt to assess the level of involvement and how it is or is not affecting the cultural and traditional practices within the community.

There is a lot of rich information in the survey results that will benefit from in depth follow up interviews. Discussions about the importance resources and the role they played within their own communities would further showcase the cultural ties to the land and the sea. Further, doing this from the local point of view would be added value to important conversations that happen at higher levels of governance.

This research sets the stage to explore the ways in which school systems within Alaska are teaching youth and leaders of all ages about natural resource management. This research illustrated the complexities of the systems that are in place and figuring out how, what and at what age people are learning about these natural resource laws could be beneficial to all Alaskan communities and to the discourses about managing these resources. In an article written by Ray Barnhardt in 1977, he brought up the challenges that are faced in rural Alaska because of the imposed parameters and systems that are brought into communities by the education system. He argued that in order for a school system to be successful, that there needed to be flexibility in the administration for the community to be involved and give input on what is culturally relevant in their community. Based on the discussions in his article and the survey that was created with this research, I would like to also extend this effort to include a review of the education systems and how they are approaching natural resource management and how they are engaging the communities they are in.

The education system could also look further into how and if there is leadership training available for younger generations of Indigenous people. Hecht and Fox (1977) studied leadership programs and perspectives in Alaska. This thesis could easily be revisited and evaluated against what people have been involved in.

The findings about the perceptions of younger leaders' knowledge about natural resource management issue can be looked into with a more qualitative lens. Approaching younger leaders and evaluating their expertise would provide a unique comparison. This would also allow for a dialogue with school systems about what is important from a

community perspective and whether those things are being brought into the curriculum, and how they could potentially be brought into the local curriculum.

This education could also be elaborated on by factoring in what the impact of boarding schools had on the current generation of Elders and how that affected their participation and understanding of policy issues.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

On July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018, I was in King Cove with my son, niece and nephew, when I received a frantic phone call from the summer school teacher to meet me at the clinic. My niece had fallen on the playground and broken her arm. I got up and ran out the door. I immediately looked out to the bay to check the weather, the bay was covered in white caps and my heart just sank. I knew we were going to have to be medivaced and hoped that we were not going to have to be picked up by a coast guard helicopter.

The road to Cold Bay was one of the main examples of how political ecology plays a role in our community and why it is important for us to be able to access this area. This was the first time I have ever experienced a medevac and it was scary. But it also solidified in me the need for the permission to be able to access our traditional lands and areas as we have for millennia. Although there have been some positive decisions, these decisions are only a part of the story. The Agdaagux Tribe in King Cove and Etta Kuzakin specifically are now the subjects of lawsuits that have been filed against the building of the Cold Bay Road. The discourse is ongoing and people like Etta and David are the people who are actively fighting for the rights of the Aleut people to continue to be living in the region. They are two of many who have instilled in so many the importance of being involved in your community and the issues that are important. Reedy- Maschner (2010) illustrated this well in *Aleut Identities*. She says that

although the nuclear family provides a basic social unit, “extended relationships and obligations transcend the household and solidify relationships across the community” (165).

Much like the extension of the relationships we see in Aleut communities, we need to see similar things to happen with science and traditional knowledge. The recognition and incorporation of traditional knowledge in policy and science while preserving and revitalizing language and culture are the key goals to this research. Wilson (2008) said, “if my research doesn’t change me as a person then I haven’t done it right” (135). Throughout this process, I have considered this work as a way to preserve our place and our culture that is rooted in that place. Our culture landscape is unique to our ways of being. This is still the case, however, the piece that has changed, is the ways that I have learned to articulate the importance of this to many audiences and bring to the forefront the issues that are central to the cultural survival of the Aleut people. We are actively navigating how to revitalize and preserve our culture while being active in policy processes that keep our communities alive. This means engaging in dialogues that do not always have a clear answer. One example is the movement from using the word Aleut back to Unangan. It is my personal preference to use both. I fully understand that the origins of the word Aleut are not from our region and were in fact used to identify many Native groups from coastal Alaska. It is my belief that as we relearn our language, we will begin to use Unangan more often, but until then I do not feel the need to deter people from using the word that they have come to identify with over this long period of time.

Our dynamic landscape has produced many dynamic leaders, of which, I have only mentioned two, but still there are many more who assist in multiple capacities that help to keep our communities alive and present on the land where we have been since time immemorial. By following the examples of others before me and also by encouraging people to be involved in

the decision- making processes that dictate our interactions with the environment, I'd like to further the longevity of the Unangan culture and help to solidify our presence here.

Tuck and McKenzie (2015) stated, "In Indigenous approaches, it is the people who decide what should be studied, and researchers are held accountable not only to developing useful knowledge, but also to adhering to cultural expectations and to fostering ethical relationships along the way" (2015:10). The way that the research itself transpired in the Aleutians is a perfect example of this. Listening to the people who are seen as leaders and knowledge bearers informed and directed my research project in the Eastern Aleutians, and it has given me the opportunity to participate in conversations and advocate for the well- being of our people and the preservation of our culture and cultural practices, and for this I am grateful.

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## Appendix A: IRB Approval



(907) 474-7800  
(907) 474-5444 fax  
uaf-irb@alaska.edu  
www.uaf.edu/irb

### Institutional Review Board

909 N Koyukuk Dr. Suite 212, P.O. Box 757270, Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-7270

July 1, 2014

To: Ray Barnhardt, PhD  
Principal Investigator

From: University of Alaska Fairbanks IRB

Re: [829576-1] ALASKA NATIVE LEADERS KNOWLEDGE: IMPACTS OF POLICY  
IMPLEMENTATION AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Thank you for submitting the Amendment/Modification referenced below. The submission was handled by Expedited Review under the requirements of 45 CFR 46.110, which identifies the categories of research eligible for expedited review.

Title:	ALASKA NATIVE LEADERS KNOWLEDGE: IMPACTS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
Received:	July 1, 2014
Expedited Category:	7
Action:	APPROVED
Effective Date:	July 1, 2014
Expiration Date:	July 1, 2015

This action is included on the July 9, 2014 IRB Agenda.

*No changes may be made to this project without the prior review and approval of the IRB. This includes, but is not limited to, changes in research scope, research tools, consent documents, personnel, or record storage location.*





(907) 474-7800  
(907) 474-5444 fax  
uaf-irb@alaska.edu  
www.uaf.edu/irb

## Institutional Review Board

909 N Koyukuk Dr. Suite 212, P.O. Box 757270, Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-7270

July 10, 2018

To: Ray Barnhardt, PhD  
Principal Investigator

From: University of Alaska Fairbanks IRB

Re: [829576-8] ALASKA NATIVE LEADERS KNOWLEDGE: IMPACTS OF POLICY  
IMPLEMENTATION AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Thank you for submitting the Continuing Review/Progress Report referenced below. The submission was handled by Expedited Review under the requirements of 45 CFR 46.110, which identifies the categories of research eligible for expedited review.

Title:	ALASKA NATIVE LEADERS KNOWLEDGE: IMPACTS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
Received:	June 30, 2018
Expedited Category:	7
Action:	APPROVED
Effective Date:	July 10, 2018
Expiration Date:	July 1, 2019

This action is included on the July 11, 2018 IRB Agenda.

*No changes may be made to this project without the prior review and approval of the IRB. This includes, but is not limited to, changes in research scope, research tools, consent documents, personnel, or record storage location.*

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[www.alaska.edu/office/compliance/nondiscrimination](http://www.alaska.edu/office/compliance/nondiscrimination).

## **Appendix B: Informed Consent**

### **Informed Consent Form**

#### **ALASKA NATIVE LEADERS KNOWLEDGE: IMPACT ON POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT**

IRB # 629576- 1

Date Approved: 7/1/2014

#### **Description of the Study:**

My name is Liza Mack. I am from King Cove. I am a PhD student at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. You are being asked to take part in a research study about natural resource issues in Alaska. The goal of this study is to learn about what people know about land and fisheries rights. You are being asked to take part in this study because you are or have been involved in a leadership role in the community currently or in the past. Please read this form carefully. Feel free to ask questions and discuss the study before making a decision on whether or not to participate.

If you decide to take part, you will be asked to complete the attached survey and may request to participate in a follow- up interview.

#### **Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:**

The risks of this study is feeling uncomfortable answering questions. To lessen this risk, you may request time to complete the survey on your own. Your survey and any follow up interviews will be confidential. You may or may not choose to remain anonymous. The benefit(s) to you for taking part in this study is helping to get a baseline understanding of natural resource issues in the Eastern Aleutians and Alaska.

**Confidentiality:** Any information about you will be kept confidential.

- Any information with your name attached will not be shared with anyone outside the research team unless you request your name be used.
- We will code your information with a number so no one can trace your answers to your name.
- We will properly dispose paperwork and securely store all research records.
- Your name will not be used in reports, presentations, and publications unless requested and otherwise approved for before publishing any documents or reports.
- You have the right to request a digital copy of your interview.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Please initial here if the interview can be recorded with a digital audio recording device. Only the research team will have access to these files and they will not be used for financial gain.

**Voluntary Nature of the Study:** Your decision to take part in the study is voluntary. You are free to choose whether or not to take part in the study. If you decide to take part in the study you can stop at any time or change your mind and ask to be removed from the study. Whether or not you choose to participate, will not affect your participation on the Tribal Council or the Board of Directors.

**Contacts and Questions:**

If you have questions now, feel free to ask me (us) now. If you have questions later, you may contact me at 907- 854- 1711 or [lmack2@alaska.edu](mailto:lmack2@alaska.edu). I can be reached by phone or email. You may also contact my advisors:

Dr. Ray Barnhardt at [rjbarnhardt@alaska.edu](mailto:rjbarnhardt@alaska.edu)  
Center for Cross- Cultural Studies  
201 Eielson, P.O. Box 756730  
Fairbanks, AK 99775- 6730  
Phone: 907- 474- 1902  
Monday through Friday 8 - 5 pm

Dr. Courtney Carothers at [clcarothers@alaska.edu](mailto:clcarothers@alaska.edu)  
School of Fisheries and Ocean Sciences  
University of Alaska Fairbanks,  
1007 West 3rd Avenue, Suite 100  
Anchorage, AK 99501  
907- 274- 9699  
Monday through Friday, 8 - 5pm.

If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you can contact the UAF Office of Research Integrity. The UAF Institutional Review Board (IRB) is a group that reviews university research projects involving people. This review is done to protect the people participating in the research. The committee wants to help make the project the best it can be for the participants' benefit and the researchers'. They can be reached at 474- 7800 (Fairbanks area) or 1- 866- 876- 7800 (toll- free outside the Fairbanks area) or [uaf-irb@alaska.edu](mailto:uaf-irb@alaska.edu).

**Statement of Consent:**

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I am 18 years old or older. I have been provided a copy of this form.

Signature of Participant and Date

---

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent and Date

Please initial one of the lines below.

\_\_\_\_\_ I wish to remain anonymous.

\_\_\_\_\_ I do not wish to remain anonymous.



## Appendix C: Survey

# A SURVEY OF *Aleut Leaders* Networks and Knowledge



Dear Aleut Leader,

Thank you very much for taking the time to participate in this survey. You are being asked to take part in this study because you are or have been involved in a leadership role in the community currently or in the past. Please read the attached Informed Consent form carefully. Feel free to ask questions and discuss the study before making a decision on whether or not to participate.

This survey will be given to all elected tribal council and corporation board members in King Cove, Sand Point and the regional entities. This survey is about leadership and natural resource management. The goal of this study is to learn about what people know about land and fisheries rights. If you decide to take part, you will be asked to complete the attached survey and may request and or participate in a follow-up interview.

This survey will take approximately 30 - 40 minutes.

This survey is confidential and the information gathered here will remain anonymous. Your participation in this study is helping to get a baseline understanding of natural resource issues in the Eastern Aleutians and Alaska.

Sincerely,

Liza M. Mack

**A1. Currently I participate on the following boards:***Please provide more information below*

	Yes or No	Name of organization?	How long have you been on the board?	Officer? i.e. President, VP, Sec/T
1. Tribal Council				
2. Board of Directors				
3. Assembly/City Council				
4. Advisory Council				
5. Other				

**A2. In the past, I have participated on the following boards:***Please provide more information below*

	Name of organization?	For approximately how many years?	Officer? i.e. President, VP, Sec/T
1. Tribal Council			
2. Board of Directors			
3. Assembly/City Council			
4. Advisory Council			
5. Other			

**A3. Please list any community involvement you have participated in that is NOT listed above.**


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**A4. Does anyone in your family CURRENTLY participate on one of the following boards?**  
*If yes, please provide more information below*

	Yes or No	In which: Tribal Council, Corporation Board of Directors, Assembly/City Council, Advisory Council, Other	Please rate how involved they are on a scale of 1 to 5 1 – Never, 2 – Almost Never, 3 – Sometimes, 4- Almost Always (if there is a meeting or event), 5 – Always * If you don't know say - Don't know
1. Mom			
2. Dad			
3. Grandmother(s)			
4. Grandfather(s)			
5. Aunt(s)			
6. Uncle (s)			
7. Brother(s)			
8. Sister(s)			
9. Spouse			



**A5. Has anyone in your family participated on one of the following boards in the PAST?**  
*If yes, please provide more information below*

	Yes or No	In which: Tribal Council, Corporation Board of Directors, Assembly/City Council, Advisory Council, Other	Approx. how many years were they involved?	Please rate how involved they are on a scale of 1 to 5 1 -Never, 2 - Almost Never, 3 - Sometimes, 4- Almost Always (if there is a meeting or event), 5 - Always * If you don't know say - Don't know
1. Mom				
2. Dad				
3. Grandmother(s)				
4. Grandfather(s)				
5. Aunt(s)				
6. Uncle (s)				
7. Sister(s)				
8. Brother(s)				
9. Spouse				

**B1. How would you describe your hunting and fishing activities:**

	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always
1. I hunt	1	2	3	4	5
2. I fish	1	2	3	4	5
3. I gather	1	2	3	4	5

**Please list what you hunt and fish for the most:**

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**B2. Compared with others in my community:**

	Much Less	Less	Same	More	Much More
1. I hunt	1	2	3	4	5
2. I fish	1	2	3	4	5
3. I gather	1	2	3	4	5

**B3. Approximately what percentage of your food comes from hunting, fishing and gathering?**  
*Please think about the amount of food that has come from hunting and fishing overtime and select what percent of your family's food came from during the years indicated:*

100%									
90%									
80%									
70%									
60%									
50%									
40%									
30%									
20%									
10%									
0%									
	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

**EXAMPLE**

100%									
90%									
80%									
70%									
60%									
50%									
40%									
30%									
20%									
10%									
0%									
	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

**B4. Do members of your family hunt?**  
*If yes, please provide more information on the table*

	<b>For what:</b>	<b>Approximate # of Years they have been hunting?</b>
<b>1. Mom</b>		
<b>2. Dad</b>		
<b>3. Grandmother(s)</b>		
<b>4. Grandfather(s)</b>		
<b>5. Aunt(s)</b>		
<b>6. Uncle(s)</b>		
<b>7. Sister(s)</b>		
<b>8. Brother(s)</b>		
<b>9. Spouse</b>		

**Additional information:**

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**B5. Do members of your family commercially and/or subsistence fish? If yes, please provide more information on the table**

	<b>Commercially Yes or No?</b>	<b>For what species?</b>	<b>Subsistence Yes or No?</b>	<b>What species?</b>
<b>1. Mom</b>				
<b>2. Dad</b>				
<b>3. Grandmother(s)</b>				
<b>4. Grandfather(s)</b>				
<b>5. Aunt(s)</b>				
<b>5. Uncle(s)</b>				
<b>6. Sister(s)</b>				
<b>7. Brother(s)</b>				
<b>8. Spouse</b>				

**Additional Information:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**B6. Please comment about approximately how long your family members commercially and/or subsistence fish?**

	Commercially Approximate # of Years	Subsistence Approximate # of Years
1. Mom		
2. Dad		
3. Grandmother(s)		
4. Grandfather(s)		
5. Aunt(s)		
5. Uncle(s)		
6. Sister(s)		
7. Brother(s)		
8. Spouse		

**Additional Information:**

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**B7. Do members of your family gather food?***If yes, please provide more information on the table below:*

	Yes or no	What do they gather: i.e. berries, plants, clams	Approximate #of Years they have been actively gathering?
1. Mom			
2. Dad			
3. Grandmother(s)			
4. Grandfather(s)			
5. Aunt(s)			
6. Uncle(s)			
7. Sister(s)			
8. Brother(s)			
9. Spouse			

**Additional Information:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**B8. Over these decades how much did your family rely on subsistence foods?**

*Please choose one person in your family who hunts and fishes and gathers and think about the amount of food they harvested overtime and select approximately what percent of their food came from subsistence activities during the years indicated:*

100%									
90%									
80%									
70%									
60%									
50%									
40%									
30%									
20%									
10%									
0%									
	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

**EXAMPLE**

100%									
90%									
80%									
70%									
60%									
50%									
40%									
30%									
20%									
10%									
0%									
	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9



**C1. Please rate yourself on how familiar you are with the following topics/terms on a scale of 1-5.**

	Unfamiliar 1	Not too Familiar 2	Somewhat Familiar 3	Familiar 4	Very Familiar 5
1. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act					
2. Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act					
3. Limited Entry Permit System					
4. Land Rights					
5. Blood Quantum					
6. Local Environment					
7. Aleut Culture					
8. Subsistence Rules & Regulations					
9. Aleut Language					

**C2. In general, do you feel these policies have been favorable for our community ? Please circle**

1. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act	Very unfavorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Very Favorable	Not Sure
2. Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act	Very unfavorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Very Favorable	Not Sure
3. Limited Entry Permit System	Very unfavorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Very Favorable	Not Sure
4. Blood Quantum	Very unfavorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Very Favorable	Not Sure
5. State Subsistence Rules & Regs.	Very unfavorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Very Favorable	Not Sure
6. Federal Subsistence Rules & Regs.	Very unfavorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Very Favorable	Not Sure
	1	2	3	4	5	

**C3. Please share information you feel is important about the following topics:**  
*There is more space on page 19 if needed.*

<b>1. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act</b>	
<b>2. Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act</b>	
<b>3. Limited Entry Permit System</b>	
<b>4. Land Rights</b>	
<b>5. Blood Quantum</b>	
<b>6. Local Environment</b>	
<b>7. Aleut Culture</b>	
<b>8. Subsistence Rules &amp; Regulations</b>	
<b>9. Aleut Language</b>	

**C4. I have learned about the following topics in these settings:**

*Please put a check mark in the appropriate boxes if yes and answer yes or no in the last column.*

	In School or Class	In the Community	In a Meeting	From Family	On the Job	From Television or Radio	From the Internet	I would like to know more about this topic Yes or No
1. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act								
2. Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act								
3. Limited Entry Permit System								
4. Land Rights								
5. Blood Quantum								
6. State Subsistence Rules & Regs.								
7. Federal Subsistence Rules & Regs.								
8. Local Environment								

**Additional Information:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**C5. Compared to other *people in your community*, please rate whether you tend to know more or less than others about the following topics:**

	Much Less 1	Less 2	Same 3	More 4	Much More 5
1. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act					
2. Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act					
3. Limited Entry Permit System					
4. Land Rights					
5. Blood Quantum					
6. Subsistence Rules & Regulations					
7. Local Environment					

**C6. Compared to other *elected leaders in your community*, please rate whether you tend to know more or less than others about the following topics:**

	Much Less 1	Less 2	Same 3	More 4	Much More 5
1. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act					
2. Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act					
3. Limited Entry Permit System					
4. Land Rights					
5. Blood Quantum					
6. Subsistence Rules & Regulations					
7. Local Environment					

**C7. How important is it for Aleut Leaders to know about the following topics**

	Not at all important 1	Slightly important 2	Somewhat important 3	Very important 4	Extremely important 5
1. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act					
2. Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act					
3. Limited Entry Permit System					
4. Land Rights					
5. Blood Quantum					
6. Subsistence Rules & Regulations					
7. Local Environment					

**C8. How familiar do you think younger leaders (people under 40 or new to sitting on the boards) are with the following topics:**

	Not at all familiar 1	Slightly familiar 2	Somewhat familiar 3	Very familiar 4	Extremely familiar 5
1. Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act					
2. Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act					
3. Limited Entry Permit System					
4. Land Rights					
5. Blood Quantum					
6. Subsistence Rules & Regulations					
7. Local Environment					

**C9. When you think about leaders in your community, who do you think about?**  
*Please give 3 names and where they are from:*

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**DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**

**D1. Where do you live?**

- 1. King Cove
- 2. Sand Point
- 3. Anchorage
- 4. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**D2. Sex**

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

**D3. Age?** \_\_\_\_\_

**D4. Please select your highest education level?**

- ☐ Elementary
- ☐ Junior High
- ☐ High School or GED
- ☐ Some College
- ☐ Vocational Degree
- ☐ Associates Degree
- ☐ Bachelors Degree
- ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

**D5. What is your occupation?**

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**D6. What is your marital status?**

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**D7. Do you have any children?**

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, how many? \_\_\_\_\_

**D8. Do you have any grandchildren?**

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, how many? \_\_\_\_\_

**D9. Are you an enrolled member of a Federally Recognized Tribe?**

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, which? \_\_\_\_\_

**D10. Are you an original shareholder or descendent of an ANCSA corporation?**

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Which village corporation?

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Which regional corporation?

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**E1. Please describe what being Alent means to you:**

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**This is extra space to use as needed:**

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## Appendix D: APIA Media Release



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 Name of Publication or Description of Project: Unangam Unikangis: Aleut Stories of  
Leadership and Knowing - This is my PhD dissertation and I incorporated  
some of the information collected during the Belkofski Oral History Project.  
 Nature of Project: ☐ Book/posters ☐ Book jacket ☒ Non-profit/educational  
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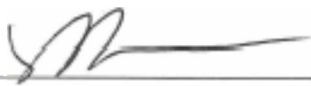
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## Appendix E: Survey Development IRB Approved Question Format

### *Sample Questions for key informants:*

- How long have you been involved with the Tribe or Corporation?
- What do you feel is important for your current and future members to understand about natural resources in the area?
- What do you feel is important for your current and future members to understand about the laws that govern access to natural resources in the area?
- What information do you know now that would have helped you earlier in your position?
- How did you get your knowledge about X, or how did you come to understand these laws, etc.
- Is there any area of management that you would like to know more about?
- Is there anything you would like to add that I have not asked about?
- Please list everything you know about X (one of the themes listed below)
  - Follow up questions about specific details will be asked

### *Potential themes to be discussed*

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act

Limited Entry Fishing

Aboriginal Land Rights

Blood Quantum

Subsistence Practices

Family Structure

Traditional Knowledge

### *Subsistence Questions:*

Did you grow up hunting/fishing/gathering food?

What did you hunt/fish/gather?

(I will provide a list from the ADF&G website to generate ideas and provide a starting point.)

Did someone teach you how to hunt/fish/gather?

Did you teach your children to hunt/fish and gather food?

Can you show me on the map where you used to hunt/fish/gather?

Do you still hunt/fish/gather in these areas?

Is there a reason why you do or do not hunt/fish/gather there?

Did you teach your children to hunt/fish and gather in this same area?

Do you think it is important for future generations to know about hunting/fishing/gathering?

Have the kinds of subsistence you and your family gather changed over time? How? Why?

Has the amount of subsistence you or your family gathers changed over time? How? Why?

What percent of your food came from subsistence in 1950s? 1970s? 1990s? 2000s? Today?

Is there anything that you would like to add about hunting/fishing/gathering?

What does traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) mean to you?

Can you define TEK?

Was hunting and fishing meaningful to you growing up? Is it still meaningful?

Do you have a favorite hunting/fishing/gathering story that you would like to share?

What does being Native mean to you?

Would you like to be contacted again?